

# THE CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCXXVI.]

OCTOBER, 1863.

[VOL. XIX.]

## RENAN'S VIE DE JESUS.\*

WE proceed to our proposed analysis of this remarkable book, in the course of which we shall imply and often bring out its beauty and fascination of style, while more directly bent on estimating its theological reasonings and assumptions.

In noticing the long introductory chapter, we have already described the author's estimate of the four Gospels, and found it in the main judicious and discriminative. He claims for all the four an undoubted authorship in the first century. He separates John's from the rest by a wide line in point of verbal trustworthiness, making him to be more *Platonic* and less reliable even than Plato is as regards the sayings of Socrates: yet, in his *Life of Jesus* (strange to say), John's narratives are appealed to as perfectly credible whenever they can occasion a difficulty or admit a passing slur; and we are also surprised to find how little regard is paid to the *order* of events and instructions as vouched for by the much-praised *Synoptics*. This observation is called for at the outset of our analysis.

The author of the new *Life of Jesus* has formed his own strong conception of its course as beginning in a sweetly loving enthusiasm and ending in stern desperation; and instead of taking the events and discourses as detailed by the evangelists, he considers himself at liberty to make the last first or the first last, assorting them as may best suit his theory of the developement of our Lord's life, without regard to their attested order in the most authentic records that we possess.

The first chapter is intitled, "Position of Jesus in the World's History." It opens with that very confused statement of the Christian problem, already quoted, which makes it to have been matter of a thousand years' developement, and confounds the Trinity and Incarnation with the essentials of the gospel. The author claims the religious faculty as indigenous in man. The symbols of certain ancient religions can hardly have been designed to denote great truths:

"Man, in possession of a clear idea, never amuses himself by clothing it in symbols; it is more commonly after a long course of reflection, and in the impossibility felt by the human mind to resign itself to absurdity,

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\* Continued from p. 544.

that ideas are sought for under old mystical images, the meaning of which is lost."

It was from the Semitic race that the religion for human kind arose. To the Patriarchs and the Law its origin is traced, though the characteristics of the patriarchal and Mosaic religion are hardly brought into full view (as previously observed by us) in their manifest contrast with the polytheistic and idolatrous religions of the world. In estimating the practical religious influence of Judaism, M. Renan makes too little account of the Psalms, Proverbs and Job (the books of highest and most unlimited religious value surely), and he exaggerates to a ridiculous degree the influence of the book of Daniel on the Jewish mind in forming and nurturing the Messianic expectation. This is the more observable as he assigns that book to the date of the Maccabees, and Messianic passages abound in many of the earlier prophets. He concludes the chapter by describing that general state of expectation in and beyond Judea which even the Roman historian has attested:

"The reigns of the last Asmonean kings and that of Herod saw the excitement of the Jewish mind still increasing. They were filled with a constant succession of religious movements. In proportion as the government came to be secularized and passed into unbelieving hands, the Jewish people lived less and less for earth, and became more and more absorbed with the strange work which was going on within its bosom. The world at large, distracted by other sights, takes no notice of what is passing in this forgotten corner of the East. But minds that can keep pace with their age are better informed. The tender and clear-sighted Virgil seems, as by a secret echo, to respond to the second Isaiah; the birth of a child throws him into dreams of universal regeneration. These musings were general, and formed, as it were, a class of literature under the name of Sibylline. The very recent formation of the empire excited men's imaginations; the great era of peace on which they were entering, and that impression of melancholy sensibility which is experienced after long periods of revolution, gave birth on all sides to illimitable hopes.

"In Judea, expectation was at its height. Holy persons, among whom are mentioned an old man, Simeon, whom the legend makes to have held Jesus in his arms, and Anna, daughter of Phanuel, who was regarded as a prophetess, passed their lives in the neighbourhood of the temple, fasting and praying that it might please God not to take them from the world without their having seen the hopes of Israel accomplished. Men feel as though a potent incubation were going on, and something unknown at hand.

"This confused mixture of clear and dreamy views, this alternation of deception and hope, these aspirations continually thrown back by an odious reality, found their interpreter at length in that incomparable man to whom our universal consciousness has decreed the title Son of God,—and rightly so, since he caused religion to make an advance to which nothing can be compared in the past, nor probably in the future." Pp. 17, 18.



The second chapter is devoted to "The Childhood and Youth of Jesus and his First Impressions." The birth at Bethlehem is discredited as an after legend; and not only so, but (wilfully and needlessly as seems to us) Joseph's descent from David is flatly denied, and its invention at a later period is hinted to have been a Messianic necessity. It is even hinted (as merest conjecture) that his parentage may have been mixed with Gentile blood. The name Jesus (very common among the Jews, being the same as Joshua and meaning *deliverer*) perhaps suggested to himself, as it might to any other "mystic," a feeling of self-elation.

"History presents more than one instance of a great destination (*vocation*) occasioned through a name given to a child with no ultimate meaning. Ardent natures never consent to see any risk in what concerns them. God has arranged everything on their behalf, and they see signs of the Supreme Will in the most insignificant circumstances."

On the relationship of those who are called our Lord's "brothers and sisters," M. Renan throws no light, but tells us (what the record nowhere does) that his sisters married at Nazareth! Galilee is described in glowing colours; and the beauty conventionally ascribed to Mary is but that of the Galilean women still! Nazareth is a delicious abode even now, with its charming neighbourhood,—“no place in the world so fit for the dream of perfect happiness.” A most graphic chapter thus concludes:

“If ever the world, still remaining Christian, but having attained a better notion of what constitutes respect for antiquity, should be disposed to substitute authentic holy places for those apocryphal and pitiful sanctuaries to which the piety of gross ages attached itself, the world's temple will be built on the hill of Nazareth. The spot where Christianity first made its appearance and which was its Founder's centre of action, is the place for building the great church where all Christians might worship. There, too, on that ground where sleep the carpenter Joseph and thousands of forgotten Nazareans who never passed the horizon of their valley, the philosopher would find a better position than anywhere else in the world for contemplating the course of human things, consoling himself on their uncertainty, and reassuring himself of the divine issue to which the world is tending, through innumerable failures and notwithstanding the vanity written on all things.”—Pp. 28, 29.

The "Education of Jesus" forms the subject of chapter iii. Freshness of thought is here mixed with truisms, platitudes and philosophical contempt. "The natural scenery of Galilee, at once smiling and grand, constituted the whole of his education." "In that social state, ignorance, which with us condemns a man to an inferior rank, is the condition of greatness and originality." Probably he did not understand the Greek language and was untouched by Greek culture. "He knew nothing beyond Judaism, and his mind retained that frank *naïveté* which is always weakened by an extended and varied culture." He was no Es-

sene; this favourite theory of some reasoners on the origin of Christianity is put aside at once. But he probably knew the principles of Hillel, who preceded him by fifty years (see Jerusalem Talmud), and who "was his true master, if we may speak of master where such eminent originality is the problem." Of course he derived many religious impressions from the Old Testament. The law was indeed a mere Utopia, not representing the ancient laws of the country, but the pious frauds of the later pious kings, and had little charm for Jesus, who thought he could improve upon it. The Psalms delighted him; but the prophets, allegorically interpreted, were his real guides,—Daniel above all, the author of which book was "the true originator of the philosophy of history"! Perhaps he knew the book of Enoch too\* (which unfortunately we English Christians know nothing about). "He had little knowledge of the general condition of the world." "He had no precise idea of the Roman power; only the name of Cæsar had reached him." (We are at a loss to see the bearing of these gratuitous slights.) The little that he saw of Roman and Herodian pomp of architecture offended him. He loved nature better. "The *charming impossibilities* with which his parables swarm when he introduces kings and potentates on the stage, prove that he imagined aristocratic society only as a young villager might who sees it through the prism of his own simplicity." Still less did he understand Greek philosophy. About a hundred years before him, Lucretius had admirably expounded the inflexibility of Nature's laws; and the denial of miracle was thenceforth matter of common right in the great schools of Greek science everywhere; but Jesus knew nothing about this step in *positive science*. He lived in an atmosphere of the supernatural. The marvellous to him was not exceptional but normal.

"But in his great soul the belief produced effects the very opposite to those vulgarly entertained. The vulgar belief in the particular agency of God led to silly credulity and charlatanism. But in him it was connected with a profound feeling of the familiar relation of man to God, and with an exaggerated belief in the power of man,—*splendid mistakes, which were the source of his power*; for if they were destined one day to put him out of court in the eyes of the natural philosopher and the chemist, they gave him a power over his own age which no one before or since has ever wielded."—P. 41.

Passages like the above, we confess, perplex our theory of this book and its author. They look more like half-contemptuous praise from the supreme chair of Philosophy so called, than earnest human sympathy with the Galilean reformer. They exclude everything superhuman. What follows is a gross exaggeration

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\* "It still forms an integral part of the Ethiopic Bible. As far as we know it from the Ethiopic version, it consists of portions of different dates, the most ancient of which are about 430 to 450 B.C. Some of these pieces have some similarity to the discourses of Jesus."—P. 38, note.



of fact, which does not (so far as we see) help to account for anything in our Lord's history, unless by representing him as a desperate and reckless enthusiast:

"The legend delights to represent him from his very childhood as revolting against parental authority and going aside from customary paths in pursuit of his vocation. It is certain, at least, that the relations of kindred were of little account with him. His family do not seem to have loved him, and occasionally we find him harsh towards them. Jesus, like all men who are exclusively occupied with an idea, came to set little account by the bonds of family. The only bond that such natures acknowledge is that of their favourite idea: 'Behold my mother and my brethren,' said he, pointing to his disciples; 'whoever does the will of my Father is my brother and my sister.' Simple-minded people did not understand this; and one day a woman passing near, we are told, exclaimed: 'Happy the womb that bare thee and the breasts which thou hast sucked.' 'Happy rather,' replied he, 'the man who hears the word of God and does it.' In this bold revolt against nature he was soon to advance still farther; and we shall see him trampling under foot everything human,—kindred, love, country,—and retaining neither mind nor heart for anything but that idea which presented itself to him as the absolute form of Good and True."—P. 42.

Is this indeed the new version of the childhood that was subject to its earthly parents while possessed with the feeling of a divine call; the manhood of tenderness so true; the patriotism that wept to pronounce the prophet's burden against Jerusalem; and the martyrdom that prayed for enemies and provided a home for the mother? We do not call this a natural rendering of the history; how, then, can it be philosophical?

The fourth chapter is intitled, "The Class of Ideas in the midst of which Jesus gained his developement." The function of Judaism in the world's history is described in such a way as to make all but the author wonder how it arose. The Jewish thinkers were the first to care for theorizing on human progress. Greece, with all her admirable historians, had produced no philosophy of history embracing the whole race. "The Jew, on the contrary,—thanks to a kind of prophetic sense which makes the Semitic tribes marvellously able at times to see the great lines of the future,—brought history into the realm of religion." The older Jewish theological thought concentrated itself upon a glorious earthly future, and knew little about the Greek theory of immortality and individual recompence. But before the time of Christ, ideas of a resurrection, if not of immortality (perhaps derived from Persia), had blended with the Jewish thought, to the extent of one of its schools at least. The political movements of the time are well described, and the author hints that Jesus may have seen Judas the Gaulonite, who had contemplated a political revolution; and that "it was probably in reaction against his mistake that Jesus spoke the maxim about Cæsar's penny. Aloof from sedition, he wisely profited by the fault of

his predecessor (?), and meditated a different kingdom and a different deliverance" (p. 61). So easy is the philosophy of history! Our author has some fine thoughts in contrasting Jerusalem and Galilee, to shew that the spirit of Christianity could not have arisen in the former place, where the sentiment of nature was wanting, and ceremony, formalism and narrowness prevailed.\* But it is difficult to understand what he means by describing the resulting theology of the Galilean prophet as "less harshly monotheistic" than the Jewish monotheism essentially was; nor is it satisfactory to be informed that Christ's peculiar doctrine of the Heavenly Father arose from the green hills and clear streams of Galilee, and that Jesus himself found a very different Deity in the desert,—“the God of Job at best, severe and terrible, and sometimes Satan.” Elsewhere he speaks of Christ's conception of the Heavenly Father in terms worthy of the fact, theory apart as to *how* his *grande âme* created it:

“A high notion of the Deity, for which he was not indebted to Judaism, and which seems to have been intirely the creation of his own great soul, was, in some sort, the moving principle of his whole power.” “Nothing is further from the scholastic theology than is the gospel. The speculations of the Greek Fathers on the Divine Essence come from quite a different spirit. *God conceived of directly as a Father* forms the whole theology of Jesus.” “It is probable that from the first he felt himself face to face with God in the relation of a Son with his Father. This is his great act of originality; in this he is distinguished from his nation. Neither Jew nor Mussulman has comprehended this delightful theology of love. The God of Jesus is not that fatal Master who kills us when he pleases, dooms us to perdition when he pleases, and saves us when he pleases. The God of Jesus is our Father. We understand it when we listen to a gentle breath which cries within us, ‘*Father!*’ The God of Jesus is not the partial despot who chose Israel for his people and protects him against all others. He is the God of the human race. Jesus will not be a patriot such as the Maccabees, nor a theocratist like Judas the Gaulonite. Boldly rising above the prejudices of his nation, he will establish the universal Paternity of God. The Gaulonite maintained

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\* This contrast between the *riante Galilée* and the *triste Jérusalem* seems to have struck our English traveller Mr. Kinglake, though he does not describe either the one or the other with much care, still less attempt to reproduce the pictures of them as they anciently *were*. Content (as he says in his Preface) to give his *impressions*, as those of “a headstrong and not very amiable traveller, whose prejudices in favour of other people's notions were then exceedingly slight,” the author of *Eothen* adds:

“As I felt, so I have written; and the result is, that there will often be found in my narrative a jarring discord between the associations properly belonging to interesting sites and the tone in which I speak of them. This seemingly perverse mode of treating the subject is forced upon me by my plan of adhering to sentimental truth, and really does not result from any impertinent wish to tease or trifle with readers. I ought, for instance, to have felt as strongly in Judea as in Galilee, but it was not so in fact: the religious sentiment (born in solitude) which had heated my brain in the sanctuary of Nazareth, was rudely chilled at the foot of Zion by disenchanting scenes, and this change is accordingly disclosed by the perfectly worldly tone in which I speak of Jerusalem and Bethlehem.” (*Eothen*, Pref. p. 6.)



that one must die rather than call any one *Lord* except God; Jesus leaves that name to whoever will take it, reserving for God a gentler title. Paying to the potentates of the earth, as in his view the representatives of power, a respect that savours of strong irony, he establishes as our supreme comfort the recourse which every one may have to the Heavenly Father, the true kingdom of God which every one carries in his own heart."—Pp. 74—78.

To this admiring and true picture of Christ's theology is added an abstract of his earliest moral precepts (chiefly from the Sermon on the Mount), in which the learned author sees little originality\* and considerable extravagance,—a "delicate communism" suitable for a country of out-door life. But we must hasten on to that part of the theory from which our reason and feeling equally dissent. According to our philosopher, Jesus soon falls from his high ideal of theology and morals. It is too pure and good to succeed. He must vulgarize its tone and instrumentalities. We beg attention to the following passage; it substitutes dishonour for divinity as the secret of success:

"In one sense he will compromise it; for every idea must sacrifice something for success; from the conflict of life there is no coming out immaculate. In short, to conceive what is good is not enough; the thing is, to make it succeed among men. For this, less pure means are needful. No doubt, if the gospel was confined to certain chapters of Matthew and Luke, it would be more perfect, and would not be exposed to so many objections; but without miracles would it have converted the world?"—P. 92.

From this point the Christian interest in the book rapidly declines. It exhibits the *art of sinking* in reference to a subject avowedly great and heroic. Perhaps this is unavoidable if miracle be set aside as impossible. The alternative seems, by this author's shewing, to be complicity with imposture such as is inconsistent with the elevation ascribed by himself to the character of Jesus. "To prove Christianity unmiraculous" (says M. Coquerel the younger in the *Lien*), "he makes it monstrous."

A chapter is devoted to John the Baptist, without throwing light (but rather the contrary) upon the relations between his ministry and that of Jesus. The influence of John (it is said) had been a check to the development of the latter, who had recognized him as his superior, and did not begin his own ministry (no proof is here offered) till the latter was cast into prison and his school annihilated. Up to this period Jesus had not said, My kingdom is not of this world; and we are given to understand that he had believed it would be of this world, though his fine nature preserved him from the mistake of rebellion! "Hence-

\* "On the subject of Justice he contented himself with repeating the current maxim, 'Do not to another what you would not have done to you.'" More careful critics have noticed the enlargement of this negative precept into a positive one: Do to others whatsoever, &c.

forth he will walk forward with a sort of fatal insensibility to suffering, along the way marked out by his own astonishing genius and the extraordinary circumstances in which he lived" (p. 130). He begins to call himself the *Son of Man*, from that phrase being used once in Daniel (not from its repeated use in Ezekiel); and presently allows those about him to call him *Son of David*, though with some hesitation, "as his birth was quite from the common people;" "and the more they believed in him, the more he believed in himself." (The assertion that the family of David was extinct is quite destitute of proof.) The preaching on the lake is described with all the power and richness which flow spontaneously from M. Renan's pen whenever Galilee is his scene; but with a continual exaggeration or perversion as to the topics of that preaching, which seems strange in one who can speak so admiringly and truly of Christ's parables as a style of composition "created by him." This exaggeration especially characterizes the eleventh chapter: "The Kingdom of God conceived as the Accession (avènement) of the Poor." "Pure *ebionism*, that is to say, the doctrine that the poor alone (*ébionim*) will be saved, and the kingdom of the poor is at hand, was the doctrine of Jesus" (p. 179). He makes our Lord to have traversed Galilee on a mule in perpetual triumph, borrowing without the slightest authority a later event of his history, transplanting it from Jerusalem into Galilee and making it repetitional. This kind of transposition is unscrupulously used both in regard to facts and conversations or precepts.

The first visits of our Lord to Jerusalem at the annual festivals are represented as having been the means of maturing, if not suggesting, the conviction that there was no possibility of keeping terms with Judaism. The abolition of sacrifice, priesthood and law, seemed now an absolute necessity.

In this connection we see one of those passing slurs upon our Lord which we hold to be utterly unpardonable and inconsistent with good faith:

"The charming teacher, who had *pardon ready for all who loved him* (le charmant docteur, qui pardonnait à tous pourvu qu'on l'aimât), could not find much response in that sanctuary of vain disputes and antiquated sacrifices."—P. 219.

In the worst taste of all are his repeated insinuations respecting some of the women who followed Christ, based upon his conduct towards one who was reproved and cheered by him, but who does not seem to have followed him (see p. 67). We borrow from M. Coquerel's letter in the *Lien* a dignified reproof of this indecency when it comes up again in a much lighter form:

"I beg you to expunge from your book one phrase quite inadmissible by good taste, about 'the beautiful creatures' converted to Jesus. Beautiful—what do you know about that? The gospel, possessed with its earnest purpose, has nowhere said whether the Magdalene and her com-



panions were beautiful or no. It does not concern itself with their beauty, but their faith. They attended their Master faithfully to Calvary; that is their praise! Leave it to the painter and sculptor to clothe them with ideal beauty; but do you, as an historian, in the name of good taste and of the highest and most delicate propriety, speak of them with a more becoming gravity (*austerité*).” (*Le Lien*, Aug. 22.)

In the chapter on the Relations of Jesus with the Gentiles and Samaritans, there is an important hint to the effect that a considerable number of the former dwelt in Galilee, not practising their old idolatries, but partaking the religious feelings of the Galilean Jews. From the description of Christ's conversation with the woman of Samaria, we must extract an eloquent but somewhat mystical passage:

“The day when Jesus pronounced those words (the true worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth) he was truly the Son of God. He spoke for the first time the maxim on which the edifice of Eternal Religion will rest. He founded that worship (*le culte*), pure and unlimited by time or country, which will be practised by all elevated minds to the end of time. Nor was his religion that day merely the religion suited to the human race; it was the absolute religion; and if other planets have inhabitants endowed with reason and the moral sense, their religion can be no other than that which Jesus proclaimed beside Jacob's Well. Man has not been able to retain it, for the ideal is but momentarily reached. That maxim of Jesus was as a flash of lightning in a dark night, to which it has required eighteen hundred years to accustom the eyes of human beings (what do I say?—the eyes of an infinitely small portion of them). But that flash will become full daylight; and after having run through all the rounds of error, the human race will return to that maxim as the immortal expression of its faith and hope.”—P. 234.

From his first visit to Jerusalem, M. Renan brings Jesus back to Galilee, “having quite lost his Jewish faith, and in full revolutionary ardour” (p. 236). Then the legend of his birth at Bethlehem grows up, as seeming necessary to sustain his claim to be the descendant of David. Our author seems to think he has reached the philosophy of history in reference to this *grande dame*, this *personne supérieure*, by saying:

“The legend respecting him was the fruit of a perfectly spontaneous combination of many circumstances, elaborating itself during his lifetime. No great event of history has occurred without giving occasion to a cycle of fables; and Jesus could not, if he had wished, have cut short these creations of the popular mind. Perhaps a sagacious glance might already recognize the germ of the stories which would hereafter attribute to him a supernatural birth.”—P. 240.

It is, however, in this chapter on the Legends respecting Jesus that our author introduces the passage on his simply human nature, which we gave in detail in our last number.

A chapter on Miracles follows. “Jesus had to choose between two courses: to renounce his mission, or to become a miracle-

worker" (*thaumaturge*). "In a general sense, it is true to say that Jesus became a thaumaturgist and exorcist in spite of himself" (*cette grande âme! cette personne supérieure!*)

The miracle-working phase lasted eighteen months, according to M. Renan, the whole ministry being three years. He says the Synoptics make the whole to have been only one year, but that John makes it three years. Why he should in this instance prefer John's usually slighted authority, we can only conjecture. More time than the one year, or fifteen months, usually assigned to our Lord's ministry (and felt to be sufficient for the mere events recorded) would be desirable for his gradual and difficult transformation from the benevolent prophet of the Galilean hills and fields, through the phases of revolutionist and thaumaturgist, to the mocking desperado who with his tongue of ridicule puts "the tunic of Nessus" (p. 334) upon his enemies, "the aristocrats of Jerusalem," and is then content to die himself. If Christianity is to part with its miraculous on these terms, we see not how it is to preserve any shade of respect or reverence. It is well that M. Renan should shew us the alternative.

In describing (ch. xvii.) "the definitive form of the ideas of Jesus on the kingdom of God," we think M. Renan has made them more definitive than the Gospels can be said to have left them, as to a literal coming end of the world; but he has just caught, to let go again, the idea that this mistake was that of others rather than himself, and has set parallel to the mistake the unquestionable doctrine of Jesus "that the kingdom of God is already begun; that every one carries it in his own bosom, and can enjoy it if he deserves to do so; that every one quietly creates this kingdom by true conversion of heart" (p. 284).

On the "Institutions of Jesus" our philosopher strangely endeavours to make out that our Lord confided certain secrets to his apostles which he forbade them to communicate to others; but he does not hint what those secrets were, and his references are to passages in which Jesus forbids his disciples to apply to him the misunderstood name of Messiah, and begins to announce to them his equally unexpected death. The idea of a church, "that fertile idea of the power of men in union, seems to have been an idea of Jesus." But there is no trace of a detailed code of morals, nor of a canonical law, nor of a theology or confession. The Lord's Supper, he perversely insists, was probably established as a meal in common long before the last journey to Jerusalem, and had no reference to the ancient Passover.

Through the remaining chapters we are told that the enthusiasm and excitement of Jesus grow, and opposition drives him to desperation. The author tries to make out that his whole spirit is changed from "the delicate and joyous moralist of the earlier days," to "the sombre giant who is driven more and more beyond human nature by a sort of tremendous (*grandiose*) pre-



sentiment." "In those moments of war against the most legitimate claims of the heart, he had forgotten the pleasure of living, loving, seeing and feeling. Passing all bounds, he ventured to say, If any one will be my disciple, let him deny himself and follow me. He who loves father and mother more than me is not worthy of me," &c. In this connection all the martyr thoughts of Christ are brought together, and so are all his stern words against hypocrisy and wickedness, without regard to their time of utterance; though both classes are, in the gospel records, scattered through his recorded sayings all the way from Galilee to Jerusalem. A more unjust and unbiographical procedure cannot be imagined. The sweet Teacher of Galilee had, from the first, kindly deterrent words for unprepared followers about leaving father and mother and being ready to hold life cheap for his sake; he had early warnings against the leaven of the Pharisees which is hypocrisy; and said one early day, in sad anticipation: "I am come to send fire on earth, and how I would that it were already kindled! I have a baptism to be baptised withal, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!" By this new method of assorting his sayings into the gentle, hopeful and loving on the one hand, and the severe and sad on the other, and assuming that all of the one class must have been spoken early in Galilee, all of the other in Jerusalem at a later date, the new biographer makes two distinct persons of irreconcilable identity. Is this a true picture of the later days of Jesus?

"The great vision of the kingdom of God, blazing incessantly before his eyes, made him giddy. His disciples sometimes thought him beside himself. His enemies said he was possessed.\* His highly impassioned temperament carried him every instant beyond the bounds of human nature. . . . Urgent and imperious, he could brook no opposition. His natural sweetness seemed to have left him; he was sometimes rough and capricious. His disciples at times did not understand him, and felt in his presence a sense of fear. Sometimes his vexation at all opposition led him to actions that were inexplicable and apparently absurd.† Not that his virtue sank, but *his struggle on behalf of the ideal against the reality* was becoming insupportable."

We must hasten over the few remaining chapters; nor indeed is there need to linger, except on our author's account of the raising of Lazarus. It is an evident difficulty with him; but we think he would have shewn a truer reverence for Christianity and its Founder by rejecting the story as an invention or a myth of later times, than by attempting to explain how Jesus could be induced to lend himself to conscious imposture, such as (in spite of himself) the philosopher describes it to have been.

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\* Much earlier incidents in the real history, transposed in the imaginary one.

† Is the emblematic blighting of the fig-tree inexplicable? Does it seem absurd? For this is the reference.

"Wearied with the ill reception of the kingdom of God in the Jewish capital, the friends of Jesus desired a great miracle which should powerfully strike the incredulous inhabitants. The resurrection of a man well known at Jerusalem, must have seemed the most likely thing to produce conviction." . . . "It must be remembered that, in that impure and oppressive city of Jerusalem, Jesus was no longer himself. His conscience, not through his own fault, but through that of men around him, had lost something of its original transparency. Desperate and pushed to extremity, he was no longer his own master. His mission pressed upon him, and he yielded to the torrent. As always happens in every great and divine career, he submitted to the miracles (*subissait les miracles*) required of him by opinion around, rather than performed them," &c. . . . "Perhaps Lazarus, still pale with his illness, had himself swathed as a corpse and shut up in the family tomb."

Such is the philosophy which is to save Christianity as the absolute faith!

But, miracle or fraud, the affair at Bethany contributed to bring the course of Jesus to an end. The relations of Annas and Caiaphas are well explained; Caiaphas, the actual high-priest devoted to the Roman policy; Annas, his father-in-law, the deposed pontiff who still wielded the virtual power. Judas is taken under the biographer's protection; and it is suggested that he probably lived out a quiet and obscure life on his field of Aceldama (pp. 382 and 438) in spite of the legend of his remorseful death. We do not feel conciliated, in the midst of such needless and objectless rationalizings, by an occasional orthodox extravagance such as this: "Every minute now becomes solemn, and reckons for more than whole centuries in the human race." Our philosopher endeavours to make out that Jesus was put to death according to the Jewish law: "The Mosaic law, in its modern form, it is true, but as then accepted, pronounced the penalty of death against all attempt to change the established worship." So says our philosophical historian; but he makes no reference to the Pentateuch, but only to the lying words of the Jews clamouring for the death of Jesus and assuring Pilate that "they had a law by which he ought to die for making himself *the Son of God*" (John xix. 7). The crucifixion is described, and this eloquent rant follows:

"Now repose in thy glory, noble Initiator! Thy work is finished, the foundation of thy divinity\* is laid. Fear no more to see the edifice of thy labours crumble through mistake. Henceforth, beyond the attacks of frailty, thou shalt preside, in the height of divine peace, over the infinite consequences of thine acts. At the cost of some few hours of

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\* The divinity of Jesus is thus described elsewhere (p. 457): "This sublime personage who still daily presides over the destiny of the world, may allowably be called divine, not in the sense of Jesus having absorbed the whole divinity or (in scholastic phrase) having been equivalent to it (*adéquat*); but in this sense, that Jesus is the individual who has led his species the most decisive step towards the divine."



suffering, which have not even touched thy mighty soul, thou hast purchased the most complete immortality. For thousands upon thousands of years the world will rise up to salute thee! As the flag of our opposing faiths, thou shalt be the sign around which the most earnest battle shall engage. A thousand times more truly living, a thousand times more loved, since thy death than during the days of thy sojourning here below, thou shalt become the corner-stone of humanity so truly that to take away thy name from this world would be to shake it to its foundations. Men will cease to distinguish between thee and God. Absolute conqueror over death, take possession of thy kingdom, whither thou shalt be followed by ages of adorers along the royal path which thou hast traced!"—P. 426.

The style of this book is said to be highly appreciated in France, as easy, graceful and persuasive beyond measure. It is thought to be scarcely translatable into English; "there is something so shadowy and impalpable in its turn of thought and in its air and gait (so to speak) in point of style." *Tant elle a quelque chose de furtif, d'insaisissable dans le tour de la pensée et dans les allures du style.* (*Revue Germanique*, quoted in *Le Lien*, Sept. 12.)

The question of the resurrection of Jesus is simply evaded, or postponed, and encompassed with a mist of sentiment of course.

"The cry, *He is risen*, ran like lightning among the disciples. Love found a ready belief for it everywhere. What was it that had taken place? In treating of the history of the apostles we shall have to examine this point, and inquire into the origin of the legends relating to the resurrection. So far as the historian is concerned, the life of Jesus ends with his last sigh. But such a mark had he left in the hearts of his disciples and some devoted friends, that for some weeks still he was to them as a living comforter. Had his body been taken away? or did enthusiasm, ever credulous, produce afterwards the series of stories by which it was sought to establish the belief in his resurrection? This is what we shall never know, so contradictory are the documents. We must, however, say that the powerful imagination of Mary Magdalen played a principal part in this incident. Divine power of Love! Sacred moments, in which the impassioned mind of a woman under hallucination gives to the world a God restored from the dead!"

So perfectly absurd, or transparently satirical, does this sentence appear in English, that we subjoin the original French:

*"Disons cependant que la forte imagination de Marie de Magdala joua dans cette circonstance un rôle capital. Pouvoir divin de l'amour! moments sacrés où la passion d'une hallucinée donne au monde un Dieu resuscité!"*

The French mind must be strangely different from the English if it can imagine that the above passage suggests at once a rationalistic explanation and a reverential one.

We must bring this long notice to an end. M. Renan's work is, after all, to be tried by French rules of belief and taste rather than English. It is a great thing that any book of an earnest, and especially of a scriptural, order should gain a hearing in

France. It is a fine thing to see how the philosophical and sceptical spirit of the present French Institute differs from that of the older school. That Catholicism and indifference should have left so much respect for Christianity within reach of thinkers of the present day, is an agreeable and hopeful surprise. Our English Christianity may thank M. Renan for two things—the one designed, the other not;—for the vividness with which he has brought the scenes of Galilee to view, assisting us to make the gospel history real and fresh; and for the palpable unsuccess of his attempt to explain the gospel on naturalistic principles. For ourselves, we have before now studied the evidences of Christianity in the failure of “philosophy” to explain its facts. *There are no more convincing evidences of a miraculous gospel.*

#### NOTES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ISAIAH xlv. 8 :

“Rain down, ye heavens, from above,  
And let the skies pour down righteousness;  
Let the earth open, let [the trees] bear salvation,  
And let righteousness sprout forth together with [the herbs];  
I, Jehovah, have created it.”

Though the words “trees” and “herbs” are not in the Hebrew, they are called for by the corresponding verbs, and by the adjective “together with” or “the two together.” There are few instances of metaphors bolder than the above.

Isaiah xlv. 11 :

“Thus saith Jehovah,  
The Holy One of Israel and his Maker,  
Shall the things to come ask of me concerning my sons?  
And will ye command me concerning the work of my hands?”

The foregoing passages fully justify our changing these lines into questions. We are there told that the creature is not to argue with his Creator.

Isaiah lxiii. 13 :

“He led them through the deep as a horse [is led] in the desert,  
So that they should not stumble.”

The words which we have added are required to explain the simile. The desert is so rough with stones that it offers very bad footing to a horse. A few years ago, when the Pasha of Egypt challenged the English Jockey Club to send over some English horses to race against his in the neighbourhood of Cairo, our consul gave warning that English horses would be in danger of stumbling upon ground which they were so little used to.



Isaiah lx. 5 :

“The riches of the West shall be turned unto thee,  
The wealth of the Nations shall come unto thee.”

The Authorized Version has “abundance of the sea,” instead of “riches of the West.”

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Isaiah lxii. 1 :

“For Zion’s sake I will not keep silence.”

The Authorized Version has, “I will not hold my peace;” and trifling as the alteration may seem, it is not unimportant to make it, in order that the words may be the same with those of chap. lxv. 6, where they are distinctly quoted. The chapter (lxii.) relates to the return of the captives from Babylon in the reign of Cyrus, written by the unknown author called the Later Isaiah; and consequently yet later must have been the writer of chap. lxv., who quotes it. That chapter (lxv.) is a remonstrance against the Jews of Babylon who did not return when the opportunity was allowed them; and it most likely belongs to the time of Nehemiah, rather than to that of Zerubbabel.

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Isaiah xxxvii. 25 :

“I have digged and drunk up the water,

And with the sole of my feet I have dried up all the canals of Lower Egypt.”

In this way Sennacherib, king of Assyria, tells us, what we also learn from Herodotus, that one of his armies was engaged at the siege of Pelusium; and it was from this siege that he withdrew when he left behind him so many of his dead in the camp, as described in verse 36, and in 2 Kings xix. 35.

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Zechariah iii. 5 :

“So they set a clean turban upon his head and clothed him with garments.”

Daniel iii. 2 :

“Then Nebuchadnezzar, the king, sent to gather together the satraps, the rulers, the pachas, the judges.”

It is interesting to find in these two passages so much that reminds us of the present inhabitants of the same countries. The governor is still called a pacha, though we usually spell his title pasha or bashaw; and the great men still wear turbans.

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Ezekiel vi. 14 :

“I will make the land desolate, yea desolate, from the [southern] desert unto Diblah.”

Diblah, or rather Riblah, which is the more probable spelling of the name, is a town at the foot of Mount Lebanon, so named from the fertility of the district. Hence the writer, to describe the whole of the land of Canaan, instead of saying, from Beer-sheba to Dan, says, from “the Desert to Fertility.” The Autho-

rized Version is particularly unhappy in writing, "more desolate than the wilderness toward Diblath."

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Ezekiel xii. 7:

"I brought it forth in the dark, and I bare it upon my shoulder before their eyes."

Three times already in this chapter the Authorized Version changes "before their eyes" into "in their sight," though the sense requires that the objects should not be seen. And here it changes "the dark" into "the twilight," to make it agree with the former alteration.

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Ezekiel xiii. 6:

"They [the prophets] have had vain visions."

The Authorized Version says, "They have seen vanity," which by no means comes up to the meaning of the original.

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Ezekiel xvi. 40:

"They shall bring up an assembly [of judges] against thee, who shall stone thee with stones."

It seems necessary, by this addition of the word judges, to explain that this was a judicial assembly, who were first to try the crime and then to punish it.

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Ezekiel xxiii. 42:

"And with the men of common sort were brought drunkards from the desert."

The Authorized Version has "Sabeans from the desert." Either translation agrees with the letter, but it is only by a mistake in the translation of Job that Sabeans could be thought to live in the desert. When the translation of Job is corrected, and we learn that Job's cattle were carried away into the desert by the men of Sheba, then no support remains for the authorized translation of this passage in Ezekiel.

S. S.

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#### BELIEF AND DOUBT.

Not belief, but doubt, is the present fashion. Now belief and doubt both of them have their uses. Each of them has its good and its bad side. Doubt is the more daring and impressive; but belief, even if sometimes rather illogical, is decidedly the more amiable. Let a negative system be true and a positive system be false, still the positive system will call out some of the best qualities of our nature in a way that the negative system cannot. The smiter of error who reveals no counter truths wins admiration rather than love. Of course, under any system, the opposite vices of blind submission and of silly self-conceit will each find ways of shewing themselves. It is as easy to make an idol of an apostle of doubt as it is to make one of a Pope or a Council. *Saturday Review*.



## ODE.

"Mourn not therefore, child of immortality ! for the spoiler, the cruel spoiler, that laid waste the works of God is subdued : Jesus hath conquered Death. Child of immortality ! mourn no longer."

## FIRST VOICE.

"STRIKE, strike, my lyre, the solemn notes of woe,  
For all that's fair is fleeting, here below.  
Swifter than April gleams they pass away,  
The joys, the hopes, that rise but to decay.

They seem our own,  
We know no fear,  
But they are gone  
For ever here,—

Our life's long hopes, our purest joys, all withered in a day !"

## SECOND VOICE.

"Yet there is gladness round ;  
Why list we only to the voice of sorrow ?  
Hark ! that full joyous sound !  
Sweet child, so gay, so thoughtless of the morrow,  
O turn on me thy smile ;  
The sunny promise of a day so bright,  
Let it my soul beguile,  
And shed on me its hope, its love, its light ;  
Yes ! let it banish dismal care and sorrow's gloomy night.

"And hark ! the voice of Spring !  
It sounds full cheerily ;  
The blithe young greenwoods sing  
Merrily, merrily !  
And see the buds all opening fair and bright,  
Promise of loveliest flowers ;  
And see the trees all decked in virgin white,  
Gladdening the bridal bowers :  
O 'tis a world of life and love ! a joyous world is ours !

"And there is many a fair young form  
Too bright to die ;  
And strong and high  
Beats many a heart with feelings warm ;  
And there are heads round which the laurels twine  
In earliest youth ;  
There are blest spirits hallowed at the shrine  
Of holy truth :  
O these are lovelier far than Spring, these cannot fade and fly."

## FIRST VOICE.

"Thus may'st thou sing whose springtide hour is bright,  
On whom no wintry storms as yet have burst,—

Who hast not seen cold Autumn shed his blight  
On beauties Spring and Summer hours had nurst.

Now Hope is round thee—

Soon she'll fly;

Sorrow hath found me—

Let me sigh;

Stay not my dirge of grief for joys that quickly fade and fly.

“Once, too, for me the laughing day

Shed sweets around;

Life was in all most bright and gay;

Too soon I found

That Death is in the world; his gloomy pall

Once seen is ever near,

And coldly sheds its ghastly shade on all,

Filling the soul with fear,

And telling us our dearest joys, our highest hopes, must fall.

“Why does that mother always mourn, nor raise her drooping  
eye?

Why does a cloud o’ershadow all, and never pass her by?

Her morning star is hid in gloom,

Her daughter sunk into the tomb!

Why does that matron grieving sit within her palace-gate,  
Nor heed, while years roll tedious on, her noble mansion’s  
state?

Her thoughts are ever in the grave, her only hope and trust,  
Soon with her husband and her son to mingle dust with dust.  
O gloomy is this narrow vale! sad—sad is mortal fate!

“Yes! there hath been a gladness in my soul

Like that of infancy;

Now nought but gloomy sorrows round me roll—

I’ve lost its buoyancy!

Once in my heart young hopes were gay and fair,

Like bright leaves springing,

Like sweet bells singing,

But never more shall happiness be there;

Deep sorrow ever o’er me broods, and dark corroding care.”

### THIRD VOICE.

“Thou sorrowing child of dust, why grieves thy heart  
That earthly charms depart?

When the green earth its choicest treasures brings,

It tells of heavenly springs;

The dying year touches with brightest hues

The drooping trees and flowers,

Which in our souls the blessed thoughts infuse

Of ever sunny hours,

Where the blest Tree of Life shall bloom and be for ever ours.



"E'en when Death circles in his icy arms  
     All that thou hast most dear,  
 And from our sight vanish all earthly charms,  
     A heavenly hope is near.  
*Faith* gilds the mists of human feeling,  
 Love glows more brightly near the tomb;  
 Peace in the sorrowing bosom stealing,  
 Sheds light amidst the thickest gloom,  
 All to the prayerful soul a glimpse of brighter worlds revealing.

"Such was the faith that cheered the dying bed  
     As o'er her son the mother bent,  
 And soothed with tender love his drooping head,  
     On whom her fondest hopes were lent.  
     'These sufferings of a day  
     Soon, soon shall pass away,  
 And I shall see my dear Redeemer's face:  
 My mother! follow me to that blest place,  
 And let us all together share our Heavenly Father's grace!"

"And would that mother call to earth her son  
     To share the toils of life's perplexing way?  
 No! Though in grief her course she now must run,  
 And o'er his vacant place her tears will stray,  
     Religion's soft control  
     Illumes her inmost soul;  
 In hopeful trust she says, 'Thy will is best,  
 My Father! Be Thy Name for ever blest:  
 I would not take my son again from his eternal rest.'

"Death blights not, chills not, but awakes  
     The heart's immortal, pure desires;  
 O'er the dark vale a glory breaks  
     From Heaven, to which the soul aspires.  
 I've seen the wife and mother dying,  
 All her fair earthly visions flying;  
 Yet as her life was ebbing fast,  
 These accents were her last,—  
 'My Father! 'tis a glorious morn—all, all is bright within!'

"Live in the power of an eternal life!  
     'Twas thus the Saviour, dwelling still on earth,  
 O'ercame its cares and sorrows, toil and strife;  
     And thus his followers of the second birth,  
 To whom immortal hopes and joys are given,  
     Fear not to die;  
 The holy ties of earth can ne'er be riven,  
     For soon on high  
 The ransom'd shall with Christ partake their purer bliss in  
 heaven.

“Let Hope and Joy kindle their fairest rays  
In all that's lovely here,  
Faint earnest of a brighter blaze  
In the celestial sphere.  
Let Pain and Sorrow shade the dazzled sight,  
Unused to such excess of light:  
Death draws the veils aside  
Which endless glories hide,  
And opens to the faithful soul its high, eternal home!”

MARY CARPENTER.

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MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF THE LATE REV. JOSEPH HUNTER.

IT is matter of congratulation that most of the MSS. of this accomplished antiquary are secured for public use by the Trustees of the British Museum, and are, or shortly will be, available to all who have access to its matchless Library. During the early and middle years of Mr. Hunter's life, Puritan, early Nonconformist and Presbyterian history engaged much of his attention. No one hereafter writing on these subjects will willingly neglect to consult the extensive collections which he has made in relation to them. In order to aid inquirers, we give from the MS. Hand Catalogue of the Library the titles of the series of volumes of the COLLECTANEA HUNTERIANA. When it is remembered how much Mr. Hunter printed during his life, and how productive his labours were as Deputy Keeper of the Records, the description of the MSS. which he has left for the use of posterity will awaken admiration of his persevering and judicious industry. We propose also to give, in this and another number, copious extracts from a fragment of early Nonconformist history which forms one of the series of volumes. The numbers prefixed to each article indicate the press-mark by which it is designated. When such words as the “19th century” follow the title, they indicate that no more particular date can be given of the composition of the MS. We have only to add that, should any one seek to write a biography of Mr. Hunter, abundant and very interesting materials may be gathered from the volumes which contain his correspondence.\* The letters date from the closing years of the last century, and extend to nearly the time of his death. His itineraries indicate his travels at home and abroad,

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\* We cannot refrain from an expression of regret that the member of Mr. Hunter's family who sold the volumes to the Trustees did not carefully examine them before parting with them. Some few letters are so essentially private that they should never have been permitted to go into a public library. The same remark applies to a series of MS. volumes submitted to public auction, and which contained many ill-natured anecdotes, some of which were penned probably under the influence of temporary pique.



and how he used his opportunities of research; and his note-books used at the Museum and elsewhere disclose the vast extent of his reading, especially of MS. and other works containing biographies and family history.

Additional MSS.

- 24,436 *Collectanea Hunteriana*, Vol. I. Miscellaneous Genealogy, 19th century, 4to.
- 24,437 „ Vol. III. History of Sheffield, by Rev. J. Hunter, 19th century, 4to.
- 24,438 „ Vol. IV. Parish of Ecclesfield, 19th century.
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- 24,509 to 24,515 *Collectanea Hunteriana*, Abstracts of Records in the Queen's Remembrancer's Office—Henry II. to Elizabeth, 19th century, 7 vols., 8vo.
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## THE RISE OF THE OLD DISSENT IN THE PEAK OF DERBYSHIRE.

INTENDED AS A SPECIMEN OF A NEW NONCONFORMISTS' MEMORIAL, 1851.

BY REV. JOSEPH HUNTER.

ADDITIONAL MSS., BRITISH MUSEUM, 24,621.

## THE DEANERY OF THE HIGH PEAK.

WE have here the benefit, which we so often want, of an express treatise written by one of the fathers of Derbyshire Nonconformity, who in his old age sat down to recall to his memory those who had been his fathers and brethren in the ministry, and who had been, like himself, zealous preachers of the word among the simple and rude people of the Peak. The title of this little volume is *De Spiritualibus Pecci*: Notes (or Notices) concerning the Work of God and some of those who have been Workers together with God in the Hundred of the High Peak in Derbyshire; by W. Bagshaw, Minister of the Gospel.\* This Mr. Bagshaw is by far the most conspicuous of the ministers who were settled in this part of the county in the time of the Commonwealth, and who relinquished the living in which he had been placed when the Uniformity Act prescribed terms with which he could not comply. So much so indeed that, continuing to live in the northern part of the county, where the family had considerable possessions, and being very assiduous in his ministry, he was often called in his own time the Apostle of the Peak; and is still kept in memory by the people of these regions under that designation.

The light of Christianity had penetrated these wild and mountainous regions, and churches had been erected at various points at the earliest period to which we can usually ascend in our parochial antiquities. By this I mean the first century after the Conquest, though we have many parish churches which can claim a Saxon antiquity. The points at which they were placed were in Glossop Dale, the most northern point; at Eyam Castleton, near to the great castle of the Peak; Hope and Hathersage, villages each in its beautiful valley; Tideswell and Bakewell, which alone of all the Peak townlets acquired early the benefit of a market; Yowlgrave. To these are to be added Edensor and Chapel-in-le-Frith, which though accounted parish churches are probably of later foundation than the others which I have mentioned. Where the county has lost something of its mountainous character is Darley, between Bakewell and Matlock, another of the High-Peak parishes, which has this peculiarity, that there

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\* It is a small 8vo, printed for Nevill Simmons, bookseller, in Sheffield, 1702. The title, *De Spiritualibus Pecci*, is evidently modelled from the title of Hobbes' Latin poem, *De Mirabilibus Pecci*.

were settled in it from the beginning two priests with co-ordinate and equal powers and duties.

These form the eleven parishes of the High Peak; most of them, but particularly Bakewell, very wide; and in such a country so difficult of access were the parish churches that numerous edifices arose of the class called *Capellæ*, of which there are not fewer than nine in the parish of Bakewell alone, and fourteen in the other parishes. These were not all the work of early English piety, several of them having been founded in the century and a half which passed between the Reformation and the time when the Toleration Act allowed to Protestants to erect places of worship not comprehended within the Establishment.

We are so accustomed to consider the preaching of the word an essential duty of every person who undertakes the cure of souls, and have been so long accustomed so to regard it, that we can hardly familiarize our minds to the idea that there ever was a time in the Reformed Church of England when the incumbents of the parishes were not accustomed as a part of their ordinary duty to address the people from the pulpit on the solemn truths of religion. Yet there is reason to believe that there were many ministers, especially in the ruder parts of the kingdom, who were not habituated to the preparation of discourses proper for the occasion, and who at the utmost were wont to read only the homilies set forth by authority. And this gave occasion to the rise of a body of itinerant or temporary abiding ministers, men of great zeal and doubtless possessed of an eloquence adapted to the times, who soon obtained great influence in the country. The labours of these lecturers were one principal origin of that spirit of disaffection to the Episcopal Church which led to its temporary overthrow and the extensive prevalence of Dissent. Two of these are named by Mr. Bagshaw as having been sent into the Peak in the reign of King James I.

“Mine ears have heard my father and many others of his time tell, that when the word of the Lord, as opened and applied in sermons, was as to the rarity of it precious, and there was in the Peak less open vision, the truly noble Lady Bowes maintained several worthy preachers and sent them thither. Among others was Mr. Dyke, as I suppose, father to Daniel and Jeremiah, those two burning and shining lights whose books will be esteemed while sound learning and serious religion is so; and Mr. Tyler, of whom an ancient and eminent Christian gave me this account, that when any made their moan and complaint to him, his usual word was ‘Wait on God and all will be well.’”

This Lady Bowes lived at Wilton, near to Chesterfield, an old seat of the Foljambes, to one of whom she had been united in her first nuptials. She outlived Sir William Bowes, her second husband, and at last became Lady Darcy by her marriage with John, Lord Darcy, a nobleman of the same religious spirit as

herself.\* There were probably few persons in those times who were able to foresee all the mischief which the system of supplying the deficiencies of the parochial ministers would produce. But if we may trust the representations which were made to her by a correspondent who signs Adam Slack, she did not intrude her lecturers into a region where there was no call for their irregular ministrations.

"I understand that one Ralph Cleaton is curate at the chapel at Buxton; his wages are, out of his neighbours' benevolence, about five pounds yearly. Sir Charles Cavendish had the tythes there this last year. The minister aforementioned differeth little from those of the worst sort, and hath dipped his finger both in manslaughter and perjury. The placing or displacing of the curate there resteth in Mr. Walker, Commissary of Bakewell, of which church Buxton is a chapel of ease.

"I humbly thank your worship for your letter to the justices at the sessions; for Sir Peter Fretchwell, together with Mr. Bainbrig, were very earnest against the bad vicar of Hope, and likewise Sir Jermain Pool, and all the bench, saving Justice Bentley (of the ancient family of Bentley, of Northwich, in Cheshire), who used some vain ——— on his behalf, and affirmed that my Lady Bowes had been disproved before my Lord of Shrewsbury in reports touching the vicar of Hope; but such answer was made thereto as his mouth was stopped. Yet the latter day, when all the justices but himself and one other were risen, he would have had the said vicar licensed to sell ale in his vicarage, although the whole bench had commanded the contrary; whereof Sir Jermain Pool being advertised, returned to the bench (contradicting his speech), who, with Mr. Bainbrig, made their warrant to bring before them him, or any other person that shall for him, or in his vicarage, brew or sell ale, &c. He is not to be punished by the justices for the multitude of his women, until the bastards, whereof he is the reputed father, be brought in." (See *Lodges' Illustrations of History of England*, III. 280, 281.)

This letter bears date Oct. 12, 1609. I believe Wm. Leadbeater was at that time the vicar, who succeeded Rowland Meyrick in 1604, whose predecessor, Edmund Eyre, appears to have died under Church censures, as may be inferred from the following entry in the parish register: "1602, April 15. Buried Edmund Eyre, vicar of Hope, without service or bell, in the night." How different the state of things now in the parish of Hope, with a vicar attentive to his duties, and addressing his mountain flock, Sunday after Sunday, in such persuasive and affecting eloquence!

All were not like the age, but it is certain that the names of the incumbents of the High-Peak churches in the reign of Eliza-

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\* They were married at Chesterfield, May 7, 1617, which serves to fix the era of this lady, who may be regarded as having been more than any other the nursing mother of the Nonconformity of these regions. Besides Dyke and Tyler, Rothwell was another of her missionary lecturers, both among the miners in the north of Yorkshire and in the more civilized but neglected parish of Mansfield, in Nottinghamshire.



beth call up no recollections of writings left by them or eminent stations attained by them in after life. Nor are there to be found any memorials of them left by others which might shew what kind of men they were. Mr. Bagshaw's recollections do not reach to that reign. He has at least not told us anything of any of the ministers who lived in these parts before the reign of King James I. Probably they had made small impression, though it may be right to allow that some of them may have been useful men in their day, though not possessed of any of the higher qualities of the minister. Yet there is one thing that ought to be mentioned, not to their honour, though possibly not also to their dishonour,—I mean the dreadful persecution of those of their parishioners who still adhered to the ancient form in which Christianity had been professed amongst us. It is a remarkable circumstance that in these villages this spirit lingered when it had vanished from most other parts of the county of Derby, and more particularly in the northern parishes of Glossop, Hathersage and Hope. It lingers still in these parts, particularly in Hathersage, where a chapel was erected in the reign of James II., and is still used.

The cruel treatment of Constance, Lady Foljambe, by birth a Littleton, has been brought before the public on several occasions. The fines imposed upon these Roman Catholics were most excessive; but not content with this, two priests, Garlick and Ludlam, were actually put to death at Derby for no other crime but an adherence to the old profession. The only defence that can be made for such acts, lies in the necessity of opposing a strong front of resistance to that powerful Church, when it shews unequivocal signs that it would if it were able destroy the Reformed Church, change the line of succession, and involve the country once more in all the bitterness of civil war. Toleration only takes place when the political danger is not imminent.

Amongst the clergy who in the reign of Charles the First were in the possession of the benefices in the Peak, were two men of some celebrity,—Isaac Ambrose and Chas. Broxholm. Ambrose lived to be ejected, but in another county; Broxholm died before the Act of Uniformity was passed. The two Rowlandsons, father and son, were also reckoned Puritan ministers in the time before Puritanism became Nonconformity. But of these four ministers some account must be given, and I shall begin with the Rowlandsons, both of whom had in succession the great living of Bakewell in the times before the Restoration.

John Rowlandson, Sen., was presented to the church of Bakewell in 1615, having been before employed at Chapel-le-Grith, where his preaching, according to Mr. Bagshaw, produced no permanent effects. At Bakewell the case was different. Bagshaw in his youth often travelled many wearisome miles to hear one whose countenance commanded reverence, and who was a most

zealous preacher of an orthodox faith. "Bakewell, I am sure," says he, "had within my time divers praying persons and families that were the seal of his ministry; so had Sheldon and Overhaddon." For he admits that Mr. Rowlandson had not that fluency in prayer and preaching which hath been noted in others, while at the same time he asserts that his discourses were well studied, "beaten oil." He was a diligent catechist, and Mr. Bagshaw's words seem to imply that he had published an exposition of the Church Catechism.

Further: "What was said of one of old may be said of this old prophet, 'His doctrine as to the conscience of his hearers was as thunder, and his life was as lightning.' Some primitive Christians would say, 'They did not speak but live great things;' he did both." His house was the seat of a most religious and orderly family. All his children walked in the truth. One of them was still alive when Mr. Bagshaw wrote. The example of his family influenced the families around him.

This is the honourable testimony borne to Mr. Rowlandson by Mr. Bagshaw; and it is the more worthy of our attention, inasmuch as when the great day of trial came and the Puritan ministers had to make their election between an absolute Conformity and all the evils of Nonconformity, Mr. Rowlandson took a course opposite to that which appeared to Mr. Bagshaw to be the right course, and remained a minister in the Church. Mr. Bagshaw writes concerning this in a most Christian temper and spirit; for it is manifest that Mr. Rowlandson's example, who, beside being the incumbent in the most important place in the Peak, was official of the dean and chapter of Lichfield also, would have great influence in determining the course which the neighbouring ministers would take; further, that no one had been more zealous than he in the cause of the Parliament.

I annex a copy of an original letter of Mr. Rowlandson written during the height of the civil war. It is interesting in itself, and confirmatory of this statement. It was written to a Mr. Bagshaw, but not to the Mr. Bagshaw who was the author of the *De Spiritualibus Peccis*. [The letter not given by Mr. Hunter.]

Mr. Bagshaw makes here a general remark which is very well worthy our attention. Addressing himself to his Nonconforming brethren, he says:

"I have another request to those whom I honour, whom I would not dishonour or displease by calling them brethren, that they would retain due charity for the grave divine under consideration; although he (who in mine hearing declared the dreadfulfulness of war, and his dread of it, as one of God's sore judgments) took that side which then declared for King and Parliament, and was a zealot in that cause, whereof I could readily give some instances, and let this be borne with. Poor I, who am never likely to be a competent judge of the then King's prerogative (whose cutting off hath often cut me to the heart) and the Parliament's

privileges, can easily remember that all or most of the sober conformists that I knew were on the same side with old Mr. Rowlandson; that any Nonconformist was so I did not then know; that the war on the Parliament's part was not begun (or headed) in England by those that went under that name, is to me made out beyond all rational contradiction."

I must quote another passage to the same effect:

"He, Mr. Hickman, if living, is of age and ability to answer for himself, and against all opposers who hath hinted that he, when young, knew only four Nonconformists, and so far as he knew they were all unsatisfied with the Parliament's managing the war; and cleare it is, very great Churchmen, one the greatest in these parts, testify the like of old Mr. Dod, who from his youth declined the course of conformity."

And to this I add from other authority that he (Mr. Rowlandson) had partaken largely of the unholy thing, the confiscated property of the Royalists. He enjoyed an augmentation to the small profits of his living, which were stated to have been not more than £40 or £50 a-year, out of the reserved rent of the dean and chapter by vote of the Parliamentary Committee for Plundered Ministers on Aug. 25, 1645, which was very early in their labours. This Committee, of which Gilbert Millington was the Chairman, had for a long time the entire management of ecclesiastical affairs.

I cannot doubt that this Mr. Rowlandson is the divine who visited Edward Browne in his house at Bakewell on the very day after the conforming clergy of those parts had made their subscription to the Articles at Chesterfield. Browne has left an entertaining account of his tour in Derbyshire in a MS. preserved in the British Museum (Additional MSS., No. 1900). He happened to fall in at Chesterfield with certain of the clergy at Chesterfield, and he joined company with them in his way to Bakewell.

"I concluded our Derbyshire priest, who had vouchsafed us his company at our inn, to be clearly the oracle of that country; and well he might, for he had been at a university, which I perceived was a work of supererogation among these divines, and that their greatest clerks ought to have passed in other places for sextons, for they never went to any other school but to the parish church: to him, therefore, the more judicious people did refer themselves, and I was going to say pinned their faith on his sleeve. The day before he had most manfully led up a train of above twenty persons; and though they thought themselves to be great Presbyterians, they followed him in the subscription at Chesterfield, and kept themselves in their livings in spite of their teeth. For his sake I think we had very good usage here."

Mr. Rowlandson had a son of his own name, who was also a divine, and settled in this church of Bakewell as the assistant or successor of his father.

"It was a thousand pities that the clear gifts and graces of this Mr. Rowlandson were so clouded through the black distemper of melancholy.



Had it not been so, he would have been looked upon as a star of the first magnitude. With what judgment did he preach? With what affection did he pray? With what circumspectness did he walk? Oh that more in Bakewell had (as, to my knowledge, besides his precious wife, the daughter of that holy witness old Mr. Bernard\* did) see (*seen?*) the beauty and value of this pearl, though (alas!) too much covered! On a Saturday evening he would have come to some friends and told them they must provide a preacher for the next day, for he could not officiate. Their way was to tell him roundly he was bound to do it; which accordingly he did, and, as they apprehended, as at other times he excelled many others, at such times he excelled himself."

He was removed from Bakewell to a smaller place, where he chose to take his own course, and was much troubled for various acts of Nonconformity,—I suppose in the interval between the Restoration of the King and the passing of the Act of Uniformity. Unlike his father, he did not conform; and remained silent for several years. At length he was satisfied, and resumed his ministry in the Church. He circulated widely the reasons which had moved him. Still his ancient melancholy hung about him. His undervaluing of himself ran into excess. There seems to have been something remarkable in the manner of his death. But Mr. Bagshaw has not written explicitly or even clearly. "The Lord who is ready to pardon and can pity his children, eased him of his troubles and took him to himself."

I have followed Mr. Bagshaw entirely in this account of the younger Rowlandson. But if, as I suspect to be the case, he is the Mr. Rawlinson, of Kniveton, in this county, whom in his first edition Dr. Calamy had placed among the Nonconforming clergy, it may be added that in the edition of 1713, p. 207, he says: "I am since informed that he never was a Nonconformist, nor ever left his living, Kniveton, in the deanery of Ashbourn."

Christopher Lawson, Edward Smith, Thomas Brown, succeeded the Rowlandsons in the reign of Charles II., all, I believe, regular conformists.

In the neighbouring church of Edensor, the incumbent, Richard Archer, was returned by the Parliamentary Commissioners of 1650, whose surveys of the state of the benefices are at Lambeth, as reputed disaffected, and as having been formerly in Prince Rupert's army. The two incumbents of Darley, John Pott and Edward Payne, are passed over with the remark concerning Mr. Payne that he was a hopeful man. He had been recently placed there.

At Youlgrave, the other of the southern parishes of this deanery, there was no minister settled in June, 1650; but in the

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\* This is probably Richard Bernard, of Batcombe, in Somersetshire, author of numerous works, who in the early years of his ministry was settled at Epworth and Worksop; a very zealous Puritan minister, much countenanced by Lady Bowes and her sister, the Countess of ———.

next year Samuel Coates was become the minister, and the Committee for Plundered Ministers ordered, on the 25th of June, that £12 a-year tithe of Middleton, a hamlet of this parish sequestered from the Earl of Newcastle, should be paid to him. The order is subscribed by the name of Gilbert Millington, John Moyley, Matthew Dishworth and Carew Rayleigh. He is described in it, in the common phrase of the time, as "a godly minister." His augmentation appears to have been increased. He was in the receipt of it in April, 1653. Who succeeded him I know not. Within this parish are two chapelries, Winster and Elton. At the former of them there was no minister in 1650, and Mr. Cantrell, the minister of Elton, is reported to the Commissioners "scandalous and insufficient." They recommend, among other valuable suggestions of the kind, that Elton and Winster should be separated from Youlgrave and form a distinct parish.

It will be collected from this account of Bakewell and the southern parishes that there would be very little manifestation of Nonconformity among the people when the day of election came.

The parish of Bakewell is of very great extent, reaching, as we have seen, north, so as to comprehend the Bathe of Buxton. There arose within it nine chapels, some of them of such ancient foundation as to want nothing but a share of the tithe to make them class with the parish churches of the county, though none of them at all comparable with the church of Bakewell in size or beauty, or in the possession of choice works of art, ascending even to the Saxon or earliest Norman times.

The Parliamentary Commissioners in June, 1650, represent the state of the chapels thus :

Longston. Robert Craven, minister, an able honest man.

Moneyash. Ralph Roads, the minister.

Chelmorton. Mr. Wilkinson, who is insufficient.

Ashford.

Taddington. Anthony Mellor, reputed an honest man.

Baslow. John Hewet.

Beeley [Sheldon]. Richard Slack, reputed insufficient.

Of these, Mr. Craven and Mr. Mellor were best known to Mr. Bagshaw and most valued by him, both of them being zealous ministers, both reputed Puritans, but neither of them actually ejected. Mr. Craven indeed died before the time came. He received great encouragement from the Parliamentary Committee for Plundered Ministers, who, having sequestered tithe at Great and Little Longston and Wardlow from Rowland Eyre, Esq., of Hassop, "Papist and delinquent,"\* gave it to him as an aug-

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\* The Eyres were a very ancient family in the Peak, and have some early and remarkable monuments in the church of Hathersage, especially that of Robert

mentation of his living. He enjoyed it in the years 1651 and 1652, and probably earlier; but in 1653, his widow, Elizabeth Craven, gave the receipt for what remained due. Mr. Bagshaw speaks of him and Mr. Mellor thus:

“Within the parish of Bakewell there were known to me other two labourers in the Lord’s vineyard, to wit, Mr. Craven and Mr. Mellor, out of the controversies (i. e. beside, out of the way of); the former being employed in the parochial chapel of Longston, and the latter in that of Taddington. They were both conformists too before the war, and were, as were all the serious conformists that I had acquaintance with, favourers of the Parliament’s cause in the war time, as the survivor of them returned to conformity after the return of K. Charles the II. That which I shall record of them was out of the controversies of those times (i. e. beside or out of the way of); and without controversie good Mr. Craven was an able, industrious preacher; and though (partly on the score of intermeddling in town’s concerns) mostly, as I fear, for his free, plain manner of reproving, he had less respect from some, I hope there are those yet alive on whom the blessing of his ministry abideth; and I am well assured good people who came from other towns were through him taught of God.”

This was written nearly fifty years after Mr. Craven had been gathered to his fathers.

Mr. Bagshaw proceeds:

“He had earnest invitations and some inclinations to have removed to my beloved Glossop, but upon second thoughts remained in his place, and continued sowing precious seed there, till death, calling him away by a fever, shut his hand, as it hath since done the hands of sundry seedsmen who there succeeded him. Under the ministry of one of them I have more than once sitten with delight, and he hath left behind him the memory of one that for his time made good improvement.”

The immediate successor of Mr. Craven at Longston was Robert Greaves. Whether he is the minister thus obscurely indicated cannot perhaps now be told, nor would it be easy to recover the names of any other of the ministers in the chapel at Longston, there being no regular record made of the persons admitted to these minor foundations. No person was ejected here.

Mr. Mellor spent a long life at Taddington, the church or

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Eyre and Joanna Padley, his wife, most ———, and ten or eleven of them were settled in the Peak, and marrying were ancestors of many families of the name. The different branches had, as may be supposed, various fortunes, some ranking with the chief gentry of the county, others being in the rank of respectable yeomanry or even husbandmen. They appear to have been in the several branches a religious family. We shall find some of them patronizing the Nonconformists, while some of the principal families of the name retained an attachment to the old profession, in the midst of confiscations to which it exposed them, and still retain it. Among these is the family at Hassop, now represented by the Earl of Newburgh, the direct descendant of the Rowland Eyre mentioned in the text. He had been a colonel of foot in the King’s service, in which lay what was called his delinquency.



chapel of which, situated in a wild, romantic country, is near the high road which connects Bakewell with Buxton.

“Mr. Mellor, born (as I suppose) in our hundred, having passed some time at Sheldon, fixed at the place before mentioned—I say fixed, for how many more years than 40 his labours lay there, I cannot particularly relate; and tho’ I did not partake of the fruit thereof often, I am well satisfied they were sound and sweet; and tho’ the largeness of his family and the narrowness of his maintenance put him more than was desirable upon secular employments, and were the occasion of his too often appearing in markets and fairs, which might occasion (as to some) the use of that word, used by former and fresher worthies, *A minister in a market and a merchant in the temple are sights far from seemly*,—yet his enemies, if judges, could not prove that he wanted a ministerial spirit and design, and I hope none will be offended with mine uttering a wish or two. 1. Oh! that all ministers (whether of one denomination or another) were his equals in sobriety and humility! 2. Oh! that any one could assure me that any considerable number of his hearers, whilst they were so, did shew forth a profiting bearing proportion to what they heard from and saw in him, to his preaching and living, to his exhortations and example! I hope free rich grace was magnified towards some who are dead, in causing them before their death to exercise that sorrow which led to repentance, for the trouble they give him on account of his following the things that were and are good. I well remember, when the lamentable wars in England began, some who gloried in being the opposers of what they counted Puritanism, hurried him before the sessions at Bakewell, and declaimed against him as a Puritan or Roundhead, and being put to explain these, such practices as his praying in his family, being for the strict observation of the Lord’s day, and against their profanation of it by sports and pastimes, the Justice that then was president and had the chair, whom for honour on account of that act of his I will name in the margin (Mr. Fulwood\*), tho’ known to be a zealot in the cause of the then King and Conformity, released him and gave his accusers a sharp reprimand. In all my acquaintance with him I observed him to be one that was in earnest for the life and power of godliness; and when he was to leave the world, I am credibly informed, he left with a worthy conformist (whom I may in due time point at) his testimony against the corruption of the times, and of some courts named spiritual; in one of which he, that was far from affecting modishnesses, was sufficiently checked for a poor lace that was about his band. Have not all ages had enow of those who could espy or fancy a mote in others’ eyes, whilst they overlooked a beam in their own? I doubt not, though he was owned as a son of the Church, he would have rejoiced if he had seen the reprinting of that elegant piece bearing the title of *Ichabod*,† the contents whereof prove the author to be a high conformist. Hath not the Lord his witnesses among those of both denominations?”

Thus Mr. Bagshaw writes throughout in the spirit of truth, not of party.

\* Christopher Fulwood, of Middleton, near Youlgrave, son of Sir George Fulwood. He had been of Gray’s Inn. He sold Middleton, and died in Staffordshire, Nov. 16, 1643, at the age of 54.

† “Ichabod, or Five Groanes of the Church.” Camb., 1663, 4to.—ED. C. R.

At Monyash, Mr. Roads had a successor whose name was Robert Cook. Calamy places him in the list of the ministers who were ejected in this county. But neither does he nor Mr. Bagshaw give us any account of him, and I am unable to supply one. Ashford appears to have been without a minister in 1650. But this place had the benefit of the ministry of Mr. Stanley, of whom we shall have to speak afterwards as giving up the rectory of Eyam. He was at Ashford for eight years, 1636 to 1644. After him, though perhaps not immediately, came Edward Hollinshead. He, like Mr. Stanley, must have been a Puritan; for, in 1662, he scrupled subscription and remained a Nonconformist. After some years' silence his scruples gave way, and he resumed his duties at the chapel, which were probably never wholly intermitted. He died curate here.

At Baslow, there was a quick succession of ministers in the twelve or thirteen years before the passing of the Act of Uniformity, and they were all of the class called Puritan. Mr. Hewit, who was here in 1650, was either a member of the Presbyterian classis of ministers at Chesterfield, or of the ranks of those ministers called assistants, who joined with actual members of the classis in ordinations and other public services. He was one of those who laid their hands on Mr. Bagshaw when he was ordained by that classis on the 1st of January, 1650-1. And we might, therefore, have expected to have found something respecting him when Mr. Bagshaw was recalling those ministers of the Peak who had been his predecessors. But we have nothing respecting him, and very little respecting Mr. John Jackson, Mr. Payne or Mr. Prime. Yet Mr. Prime was one of the most remarkable of the ministers who were ejected. Mr. Bagshaw, who must have known him well, probably thought that two or three years of a very long ministerial life spent at Baslow, did not authorize him to say much concerning a minister who was living at the time when his little work was published. He belongs indeed to the ministers of Yorkshire, having accepted, in 1653, the situation of one of the assistant ministers of Sheffield. This he relinquished in 1662, but continued a Nonconforming minister in that parish till his death in 1708. In respect, however, of his connection with Derbyshire, it may be proper to state that his birthplace was Whiston, a hamlet in the parish of Tideswell, that he was educated at the grammar-school at Chesterfield, whence he passed to Christ College, Cambridge, where Mr. Ball was his tutor. When he left the university, he lived for some time at Ramfield, near Rotherham, the seat of Mr. Westby, a very zealous Puritan and Parliamentarian, whence he removed to Baslow. Though living in Yorkshire, he kept up a close connection with Derbyshire; and when he died his funeral sermon was preached, and afterwards printed, by his son-in-law, Mr. Fern, the active and

zealous Nonconforming minister at Wirksworth. Both he and Mr. Jackson, who was afterwards settled at Buxton, and Mr. Payne, if *Payne* is not a misreading for Pryme, received an augmentation of about £20 a-year, chiefly arising from tithe sequestered from Mr. Eyre, of Hassop. In 1645, the Committee for Plundered Ministers was informed that there were 600 communicants at Baslow, and they vote an augmentation of £40 a-year to Mr. Jackson, the godly and orthodox minister. \* \* \*

The only other chapel in the parish of Bakewell is that at Buxton, where, before the Act of Uniformity, were several Puritan ministers, who laid the foundation of that spirit of disaffection to the constitution and ordinances of the Church, which induced a small population to erect a meeting-house for Nonconformists, and to support in it a succession of ministers.

The earliest minister of whom we have any account in the old parochial chapel of Buxton, besides Chayter, the unworthy curate, is Charles Broxholm, who, whatever in this respect may have been the case with others of his brethren in the Peak, wanted neither the grace of birth nor the advantage of a university education. Bagshaw says of him that he was "a gentleman born, and so, as one reckons, of the lesser and lower nobility. His brother was a Parliament man, in and for some place in Lincolnshire. Providence brought him into the ministry, and in the exercise of it, as unto Belper in Derbyshire, Gunthwaite in Yorkshire, and Denton in Lancashire, and so to Buxton," &c. We find in the *Life of Angier*, by Mr. Heywood, that he was removed from Denton, which is near the southern border of Lancashire, by suspension in 1631 or 1632. About this time he became minister at Derby (?), a chapel in the parish of Peinstone, in Yorkshire, which had been then recently erected, chiefly by the exertions of Mr. Boveley (?) Garthwaite, who was half-brother of the Greviles, who were friends of Mr. Broxholm. I do not observe the precise time of his settlement at Buxton, nor of his removal, but he became, before he died, the incumbent of the south mediety (query, moiety ?) of the church of Darley in this hundred, and there he was buried on January 15, 1647, being aged fifty-six.

He appears to have been a very zealous Puritan, and to have been exposed to suffer on that account more than many of his brethren. He was expelled, as we see, from Denton. He was troubled at Buxton; and Mr. Rowlandson, of Bakewell, was exposed to some censures on that account, and in the latter years of his life.

"The violence of those called Cavaliers—who, too many of them did, as one said, hate all manner of purity whatsoever—drove him into Derby, where, under Sir John Gell, the father, his life was secured. (1.) Of the soundness and savorishness of his preaching, we (blessed be God)



have a specimen in his book styled '*Perkins Improved.*' (2.) Of his being a true Jacobite, a wrestler and prevailer with God I had almost said, who exceeded (if I may not ask who equalled) him, that is in the ministry? (3.) What a privilege had they that were put down in his book! One that I well knew was affected, when he said in jest earnest, 'I will put thee out of my book.' (4.) How edifying to all that had the happiness to hear it, was his private personal converse and conference! He was as holy Bradford, as an angel of God. (5.) Great was his success in all other places till he came to Darley, and 'tis my joy that in the family out of which I had my dear wife (tho' in too few others) he was encouraged. (6.) He was a man of spirit and courage in the cause and things of God. When he heard of troubles coming, upon keeping a day of extraordinary prayer, he said, *Let us keep another, to lay the enemy we have raised.* (7.) As his spiritual children were many, they were solid and stable, and not carried about with divers doctrines as others. (8.) When near his expiring, it was said, '*Jack Presbyter is dead;*' he said, '*I'll pawn my life he'll rise again.*' (9.) He was so mighty in prayer, some Christians would needs put him upon prophesying, which he did not encourage them in. (10.) He died (in a sort whilst he lived) in a lethargy, yet when awakened he was still with the Lord. He forbade a funeral sermon, but grave old Mr. Rowlandson preached one a fortnight after."

It will be seen that Mr. Bagshaw speaks of a book of his entitled, "*Perkins Improved.*" The further title is, "*The Good Old Way, or Perkins Improved.*" It was a posthumous publication, not indeed printed till 1654. The editor was Charles Jackson, a Puritan minister, who was settled at Silston, on the borders of Derbyshire, but in the county of Nottingham. He inscribed it to Lady Catherine Brooke, dowager of Robert, Lord Brooke, whom he calls his aunt. He says that the author had been honoured by the conversion of many souls, both at Buxton and Belper. There is a second dedication to the godly people of Buxton and Belper, in which Jackson, the editor, speaks of having been educated amongst them, and being related to many of them.

Nor was the successor of Mr. Broxholm in the chapel of Buxton a man of that mean birth and acquirements which Mr. Brown would lead us to suppose the Peak ministers so generally were. His name was Robert Constantine, whose father was the rector of Taxall, in Cheshire. On the death of the rector, the widow and son came to reside in the Peak, fixing themselves in Glossop Dale, where he had an excellent schoolmaster in Mr. Grinley, the minister of Glossop, from whom he passed to the University of Glasgow, then a "prime one," says Mr. Bagshaw, as if meaning to intimate that it had then lost something of its ancient reputation. He was for a while a tutor in the family of Mr. Jackson, a noted attorney; but entering the ministry, he succeeded Mr. Broxholm in the chapel at Buxton. These particulars in the early life of Constantine are found

in the *De Spiritualibus Pecci*, and it is extraordinary that they did not find their way into Dr. Calamy's work, where there is, on the whole, a good account of him. Nothing, however, is said of his having been minister at Buxton, and his history begins with his having been several years minister at Oldham, in Lancashire, and driven away from it, on refusing the engagement, in 1650. There he was succeeded by Dr. Lake, who lived to be Bishop of Chichester, and one of the seven. But he returned to Oldham, and was a Nonconformist in 1662. He was a member of the Presbyterian classis of Manchester. His further history belongs to Lancashire; but Mr. Bagshaw's testimony may be read with advantage, though too long to be transcribed here.

It must have been in the time of Mr. Constantine that the Committee for Plundered Ministers made the large augmentation to the stipend of the minister of the chapel at Buxton. The order is dated January 10, 1646, and directs that the tithes at the Hucklows, sequestered from Mr. Eyre, of Hassop, and tithe at Buxton and Blackwell, sequestered from the Earl of Newcastle, amounting together to the annual value of £32. 13s., shall be settled on the minister at Buxton. What a difference this to the £5 which only the voluntary principle had yielded to the minister!

(To be concluded in the next No.)

#### DR. CHANNING AND ITALY.\*

UNITARIANISM owes a large and long-continued debt to Italy. Such of our readers as are well read in ecclesiastical history need not to be informed what were the services in the work of the reformation of Christianity of Cœlius Secundus Curio, Ochinus, the Socini, Alciati and others. The three centuries which have intervened since these distinguished men wrote and suffered in the cause of religious liberty and Christian truth, have been clouded in Italy by moral and spiritual darkness so gross as to give no encouragement and little ground of hope to the lovers of pure Christianity.

At length the dawn of a brighter day has come. Large portions of Italy have achieved for themselves civil liberty. The antagonism which has resulted between free Italy and the despotism of which Rome is the central seat, encourages the hope that Italians will go on and win religious liberty as well as civil. There may and will be many difficulties in the way. The errors and

\* Cossu Carlo. *Channing le sue Opere e le sue Dottrine Unitarie*. Torino, 1863. Tipografia Cotta e Capellino, Via Ippodromo. Small 4to. Pp. 142.

prejudices of ages are not dispersed in a day, however bright it may be. The rigid and somewhat cold Protestantism of England cannot be at once transplanted and take root in the minds and hearts of a poetical and artistic race like the Italians. Time must be given and prudence must be exercised if a liberal Christianity is to be planted in the sunny South. Happily, there are not wanting those who are warmly interested in the work of the religious reformation in Italy, whose residence in that country and whose social position enable them to direct and aid the efforts of other friends of spiritual progress. Of this we have a satisfactory proof in the interesting volume of which we give the title below. Under any circumstances we should have welcomed with pleasure an Italian book devoted to *Dr. Channing and his Works*. How is that pleasure heightened when the work is issued with the name of Charles Cossu, one of the band of Sardinian patriots to whom free Italy owes so much,—when it is by permission dedicated to Quintina Sella, a Deputy of Parliament and the Finance Minister of the kingdom,—and a Preface is contributed by a liberal Roman Catholic, another man of political rank in Turin, Vegezzi Ruscallo.

Our readers will, we feel assured, read with no common interest some account of this book. It contains seven chapters. The first gives a brief sketch of the Life of Channing and of Unitarianism. Then follows an account of him as a Moralist and a Politician. Chapter iii. discusses the subject of Slavery. The title of the fourth chapter is "Social Questions;" and of the fifth, "Domestic Affections." The sixth chapter is devoted to Channing's Writings, and the seventh to the Church Universal.

It will scarcely be expected that in a book treating on a subject to English and American readers so familiar as "Channing and his Works," anything new can appear. But the aspect in which the subject presents itself to the liberal Italian mind is necessarily somewhat different from the English view of it. We offer therefore a translation of the Preface. For the translation of this and the other extracts we are indebted to the kindness of Sir John and Lady Bowring.

"The developments and discoveries of physical and historical science, while they have improved the canons of theological criticism and subjected to a severer examination the books upon which Christian faith is founded, have created in many minds dangerous doubtings, at a time when the frequent and rapid communications between peoples holding different creeds and practising various rites have tended to create among the multitude a great amount of religious indifference.

"Those who know that it cannot be well with society unless a pure morality and sound religious opinion check its vicious tendencies, are alarmed at a growing profligacy which degrades man, the noblest work of the Divine Hand, especially as exhibited in



that passionate lust for wealth, to obtain which both private and public faith is too often sacrificed.

"But jeremiads avail not to save us from corruption. When the evil is discovered, the remedy must be sought as well as the means of applying it.

"He who in our days has best studied and most fruitfully laboured in this great field is William Ellery Channing, of Rhode Island, who dedicated himself wholly to the regeneration of Anglo-American society. His views, conveyed to England, have there produced much good; as they will produce in France, where three illustrious writers, Laboulaye, Remusat and Renan, have given them currency and popularity.

"And our Italy, in which by the change of our political institutions the liberty of the press has sometimes become licentious, and in which the Rome of the Popes has given a sanctity to brigandage,—our Italy is perhaps more than other nations damaged and rotted by foreign influences,—our Italy, to be redeemed to virtue, to the family life, to purity of manners and love of labour, more especially needs the gentle teachings of the American Moses. And we are persuaded that when they are known, high intellects will appear to explain and to propagate them.

"Channing was a Unitarian pastor.

"He was not a critic like Ewald, Strauss, Colenso and Renan. No; he was a moralist; and it may be said (taking into account the diversities of race, time and locality) that he was produced from the same stock as that which gave to the world Confucius and Socrates, with whose maxims those of Channing have many affinities.

The writings of Channing are plain, lucid and adapted to the common understanding. His arguments are stringent, without ever descending to dogmatic disputations. His morality, pure and bright, is adapted for all nations, all sects, all times.

"We believe, then, we are doing a good work in offering to our fellow-citizens a compendium of the life of Channing, and a brief exegesis of his religious, political and social teachings, grafting thereon many of his aphorisms.

"Desirous of co-operating in the moral reform of Italians, we give out the seeds, leaving their scattering in becoming places to those who are convinced that virtue alone can redeem and consolidate nations. May that seed germinate, grow and arrive at full maturity!

"May God bless our purposes and crown them with success!"

Our next translated passages are from the chapter in which Channing's merits as a moralist and politician are discussed:

"Channing is a democrat in the sense that he admitted no nobility but that of virtue and labour, knew no safety for humanity but in the intellectual culture of the masses and their participation in the benefits of the great civilized family.

"Neither in religion nor in politics was he in the slightest degree exclusive. For him, freedom and progress were almost independent of state constitutions. He had witnessed the perils by which liberty is menaced in a republican government as in an absolute monarchy.\*

"He required from government one sole condition—to make the laws equally respected by all and for all. He recognized no privileges, no right to the state but that of securing the full and free development of the human faculties. The government which most nearly approached this ideal, that of being the impartial protector of public and personal liberty, had alone his sympathy, whether called republican or kingly.

"He never hesitated to repeat that the prosperity and greatness of a people depend upon the moral value of the individuals who compose that people, and that if the citizen is not virtuous, he cannot enjoy a free government."—P. 38.

"His horror of war made him conceive the idea of a universal arbitration, which should decide all controversies and quarrels between different peoples. For that object was formed in America the Peace Society, of which he was a leading member, and wrote an important memorial, directed to the Congress of the United States, inquiring whether there were no means of infusing a pacific spirit into the codes of international laws."—P. 39.

"He was not of those who absolutely separate religion from politics and from this world's concerns, for in his thoughts religion demanded the discharge of all the duties of citizenship; and this religion, which regarded man as a free and immortal being, gave to his political convictions an elevation, an energy, and above all a unity and firmness of conviction, rarely found even among those whose career is exclusively political."—P. 40.

"For the rest, he is always consistent in his principles. In his view, the individual is the centre, the angular stone of the edifice. Everything must be referred to the individual in religion, as in morals, as in politics. The intimate alliance of Christianity with politics and morals is his ever-present idea. He frequently repeated that what is criminal for an individual is not less so for a state."—P. 42.

The chapter on Slavery contains some things which our readers will desire to see. Channing's views on this subject are thus represented. Their moderation and wisdom stand out in strange and emphatic contrast to the impassioned outbreaks and dreadful doings of both Federals and Confederates.

"The impatience that would put an end to slavery at a single blow insurrectionized the Southern States, and roused the hos-

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\* Happy may he be deemed to have been spared the frightful spectacle of that fratricidal strife which is now desolating the country which he loved and honoured!

tility of some of the conservatives of the North. Violence broke out on all sides. There was a general frenzy.

“Channing’s action was arrested at this moment. His mild and gentle character would sanction no such disorders in the name of liberty; and making every appeal to reason and to feeling, he sought to conciliate and pacify, now reproving the imprudence and intolerance of the abolitionists, now exhibiting to the Southern slave proprietors the immorality and injustice of their pretensions.

“But minds were too much blinded by passion either to see or to feel.

“That voice which had been heard with respect and love, was now rejected with disdain. It was the most difficult moment of his existence.

“But strong in the sentiment of duty, he tranquilly persevered in the same path, ever devoted to the cause of the black man.

“In 1835, when the anarchy of opinions reached its height, he hoped to recall attention to those great principles which were forgotten in the strife of passions, and he published a book on Slavery, one of the most remarkable of his productions.

“His reasonings, urged with eloquence, dignity and lucidity, were too stringent and truthful not to awaken the ire of the Southern proprietors,—too practical and tolerant to protect the author from the sarcasms of the ‘*Liberator*’ and the hatred of the abolitionists.

“The book dissatisfied both extreme parties, but by it the cause of liberty and truth was greatly promoted. Severely prohibited in the Southern States, sold clandestinely in Washington itself, it was sought and read with the utmost avidity: its object was accomplished.

“From this moment Channing may be said to have become a political man. This in spite of himself; for he was convinced that the question of the abolition of slavery ought to be a question to be treated in the dominions of morality, and that the more politics meddled with it, the more that question would be complicated and the cause enfeebled. ‘The great obstacle,’ said he, ‘to the progress of opinions unfavourable to slavery is the fear of the dissolution of the Union, and this fear obtains more consistency from the sight of the agitations produced by every discussion of the question in Congress.’

“He was persuaded that the proprietors alone could undertake the work of emancipation. The slave, if emancipated by other hands,—ignorant, brutalized, incapable of self-government, desirous perhaps of indulging in revenge,—would become an object of terror to others, and freedom to him would only be a source of sorrow. But, on the other side, he was convinced that if the proprietors delayed to carry out this work of justice and reparation, not only would the moment arrive for the dissolution of



the Union, but perhaps a horrible war, in which the Northern States would themselves be divided.

“And his foresight has been but too sadly exemplified.

“After Channing’s death, the Slavery question became more menacing than ever. The number of blacks has constantly augmented; they are reckoned by millions, and in some portions of the territory they exceed half of the whole population.”—P. 57.

“His last discourse was in celebration of the anniversary of the emancipation (of slaves by Great Britain); the Americans call it the death-song of the swan.”—P. 59.

The whole work concludes thus:

“Such was Channing. In him we should not only recognize the eloquent writer and preacher, the conscientious and bold thinker, the advocate of human reason; but the advocate of the poor and the oppressed, the generous patriot, the pastor alive to the greatness of his mission, the most disinterested friend, the most tender and affectionate son, father and husband.

“Absolute liberty of creed, respect for the opinions of others, the equal right of all men to the development of their faculties, the high destiny of the human race, faith in the wisdom and goodness of God,—such were the ideas that regulated the life and works of Channing.

“Coleridge was one of the bitterest and most susceptible enemies of Unitarianism. Elevated, however, to more benevolent sentiments in consequence of the influence which the beautiful doctrines of Channing exercised upon his mind, he exclaimed—‘Channing is a true philosopher. He possesses the love of science and the science of love.’”

The promoters of this publication have, we think, acted wisely in breaking ground in Italy with a writer of large views and generous sentiments like Channing. It is impossible for wise and good men of any faith to read his page, instinct with truth and love, without receiving a favourable impression.

It is right to add that we owe this publication in great measure to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and that it has been largely promoted by an accomplished countrywoman of ours resident in Turin. It is an interesting circumstance that as the French biography of Channing proceeded from the pen of an English lady, so does this Italian version of that noble life owe its inspiration to one of the same sex and country. This fact is properly alluded to in the dedicatory page, where, immediately below the dedication to Quintina Sella, are these words—“To the excellent Lady and Friend who has inspired these pages.”

## THE FREE CHURCH AT HALSTEAD:

THE SUBSTANCE OF AN ANNIVERSARY ADDRESS DELIVERED BY ITS PASTOR,  
REV. JOHN ROBERTSON.

[On the evening of Sunday, September 13th, the members of the Free Church at Halstead held a public meeting to celebrate the sixth anniversary of their church life. The address then delivered, introductory to the proceedings, contains much interesting matter, and gives a useful chapter of congregational history. Viewing it in this light, the Editor offered to find a place for it in the *Christian Reformer*.]

It is six years to-day since we conducted our first religious service within these walls. I have a copy of the notice which was printed for that occasion lying before me, and it reads thus: "The Rev. John Robertson will conduct a religious service and deliver a series of four discourses in the High-Street Class-room, in the following order. Sunday, Sept. 13. Religious Worship. 20. Example of Christ. 27. Christ's Test of Discipleship. Oct. 4. Salvation by Christ." I had been asked by one or two friends, the winter before, whether I could undertake the delivery of a course of Sunday-evening lectures in Halstead on religious subjects, and had declined on the ground that I did not see a way to any permanent result which could arise therefrom. At that time my own stay at High Garrett was uncertain, and the rule of our High-Garrett service then was, to avoid all questions of religious controversy. I felt sure that by coming to Halstead to lecture on religion, I should stir up not a little theological animosity, and I felt seriously the responsibility of disturbing men's religious convictions without affording them any opportunity of joining in a worship in harmony with their altered views. Some months afterwards the question was opened again by my friend Mr. Davison, and this time the definite proposal was made to come and try whether it would be possible to establish a regular service here. I had the Sunday morning to spare, was ready to undertake the work, and had the prospect of being long enough at High Garrett to give the undertaking a fair trial. The only difficulty was, that we really knew so small a number of persons in Halstead who would be likely to sympathize with us, that it seemed doubtful whether it was worth while to make the experiment. To meet this difficulty, I suggested the delivering of four discourses, and if the encouragement we met with did not warrant us in going on, we might then draw back. The notice I have read to you therefore was printed and privately distributed, and the result was that on Sunday morning, Sept. 13th, 1857, about sixty persons met here to worship God and listen to a discourse on the importance of Religious Worship. The second Sunday we had not quite so many, but the third and fourth Sundays we had more. The experiment was deemed successful so far, and we resolved to go on. In the

month of January following, we had our first congregational meeting, which was attended by about a hundred persons, the majority of whom were most heartily with us. Shortly after, we opened a Sunday-school and began to form a library. Then came the question of organization. A committee had been formed shortly after we resolved to go on with our experiment, and many meetings were held to consider what name we should take as a religious society, and what rules we should bind ourselves by in the management of our affairs. These were more difficult questions to solve than most persons who have never tried would imagine. A few of us were Unitarians of a very decided character. There was no doubt about my preaching being Unitarian. Nothing seemed more natural, then, than to call ourselves a Unitarian society. But though my preaching was Unitarian, I had from the first inculcated the right and duty of free thought on matters pertaining to religion. I had also endeavoured to shew, from the parables and discourses of Jesus, that the Christianity of Christ is practical, and had condemned those who founded churches on principles narrower than those laid down by the Master. I could hardly therefore, in justice to my own principles, advocate the calling our society by a name that would virtually exclude from membership all who did not hold my views of the Trinity. Moreover, many of the persons who had joined with us in worship here were not, at that time at least, prepared to call themselves Unitarians. They said, "That name may suit you and a few others who have thought the subject out for yourselves and so come to positive conclusions, but the whole matter is so new to us that we cannot tell what to think. We like the liberty of thought you claim for every man, and we like still more the great doctrine you teach, that salvation does not depend on the creed but the life; but as for the Trinity and other doctrines that from our infancy we have been taught to identify with Christianity, we hardly know what to say. On some of these questions our minds are in abeyance." Now I submit this was a perfectly reasonable objection to a doctrinal name of any kind. It was clear that, if we were to unite at all for any practical purpose, it must be under a name that would include varieties of opinion on theological questions. Hence we called ourselves Free Christians. No name is probably free altogether from objection; but this one was adopted after mature consideration, and I am inclined to think it answers our purpose very well. We are often called Unitarians, it is true, and most of us, I am happy to say, are Unitarians; but if we had called our society by that name, our successors might have been fettered by it, while it was decidedly less fitted for persons in a transition state. Our Presbyterian forefathers were most of them Calvinists, but they saw the evil of creeds and sectarian names; and when the law permitted them to build meeting-houses for the



worship of God, they left them with open trusts and unsectarian names, so that in the process of time the worshipers in those meeting-houses became Unitarian. Thus most of the Unitarian societies in England were founded by Trinitarians, and passed naturally and healthfully through those great changes of thought that are now shaking to their very centre most of the orthodox churches in the land. We have not forgotten this fact in the naming of our little society. At the same time, we should be sorry that any person should misunderstand our motive for adopting what we regard as the broader name. It is from no cowardice on our part, and as little is it a matter of policy. My own preaching is positive enough. There is a wide distinction between the theology that is here taught and the theology that is popularly known as orthodox. They are very different as regards their conception of God on the one hand, and man's nature and destiny on the other; and so much importance do we attach to our own views, that we have no desire at all to dress them in an orthodox garb. The term Free Christian, then, does not shelter us from the charge of heresy; indeed, so far is it from doing so, that I fear we are only known as a bad kind of Unitarians. If we had chosen it as a matter of policy, because we fancied that we should get a hearing for our heresies under cover of a name less obnoxious than that of Unitarian, we should have been disappointed, and rightly so. Why should men who have any sincere love of truth shrink from a name merely because it is unpopular? If we seek ease and popularity, let us cast in our lot with the Pharisees and row with the stream. But if we love truth and sincerity better than ease or the applause of men, and seek to worship God in spirit and in truth, even though in doing so we should require to step aside from the beaten path, then by all means let us be prepared to meet the world's frown and endure the cross. I desire success as much as most men; but success to be legitimate must be honestly earned; and I would rather stand alone any day than lure others to my side by a semblance of harmony, or a cry of Peace, peace, when there was no peace. We are Free Christians, then, because we would exclude no man from our communion on account of his opinions, and our bond of union is practical rather than speculative. We would leave our successors free to form their own opinions and adopt the form of worship best suited to their wants, but we must be true to our own light. If the faith we hold is dear to us because it has helped us to solve some of the deepest problems of our human life, been a source of strength in the presence of temptation, and of consolation when the trials of our earthly lot seemed almost greater than we could bear, then it is a sacred duty which we owe at once to truth and our fellow-men to speak out and let our faith be known. If the world receive us well for so doing, so much the better; if it receive us ill, let us not be dismayed,

but hold on our course. Being honest and faithful in our search for truth, and earnest in our efforts to make it known, we may safely leave results to Him whose wisdom and love are guiding all things wisely and well.

If I have dwelt more on this question of name than to some of you might seem desirable, I beg you to remember that it is one on which we have been much misunderstood even by some of our own friends, and I deemed this a fitting opportunity of trying to set the matter before you in its true light. Soon after we decided on a name for our society, and had adopted a form of constitution and rules, a winter-evening service was begun. From the first, the evening service was a decided success. It afforded an opportunity, too, for the introduction of a wider variety of topics of discourse than the morning service did, and has proved not only a deep source of pleasure to many of us, but a decided means of usefulness. Of course, in a congregation such as ours, composed for the most part of working men and women, it is often impossible in families that both parents can attend a morning service. As a rule, therefore, our larger congregations have always been in the evening; yet we have shrunk from continuing the evening service through the summer months, partly because we think it would not be so successful in the summer time, and also because we think the break of a few months wholesome both to minister and people. During the first two winters of the evening service, I had the duty here and at High Garrett to attend to, and the pause of the summer months was absolutely necessary. The third winter, when my health was not very good, Mr. Courtauld took the matter in his own hand, and insisted on my giving up at least one of the three services. Then an arrangement was made for my friend Mr. Macdougall to take the morning service here. This was a great relief to me, and a deep source of pleasure to the members of the congregation while it lasted; but it was broken through by Mr. Courtauld's proposal that I should come and live here among you. I had begun to look on myself as a fixture at High Garrett, and was therefore a little taken by surprise at first by the proposal that I should come here; but the more I looked at it, the more I saw a fitness in it; and the way in which you received me and have acted with me since I came here, proves that I was in part right. It is not for me to speak of my own work; but going amongst you, I have always been met by a hearty welcome, and had many opportunities of knowing that the work begun here six years ago has not been without its good fruit. I am a firm believer in the doctrine of an old Scotch minister, who said that in his opinion it was quite as much a minister's duty to herd the flock as to feed it well. I have always felt that my influence was greater out of the pulpit than in it, and my intercourse with you has not tended to lessen that feeling. If we have not grown

much as a congregation since I came to live here, we are at least more closely united; yet I sometimes feel as if my work here was of a special character, and the time of my usefulness possibly drawing to a close. I am necessarily identified in the town with the theological bitterness which our attempt to found a free religious society gave rise to. We are now become an established institution, and a new man with new methods might prove more useful to the congregation, while his name would rouse less prejudice in the town. Be that as it may, I trust that my means of usefulness here are not quite exhausted yet; and if health and strength are granted me, there are some things I should like to attempt doing before I give in.

During the six years that we have been in existence as a religious society, we have seen many changes even in our small numbers. I was looking over the first list of members the other day, and out of about forty names I miss nearly one-half. Some are dead and others have left the town, but only two have really ceased to attend the chapel who still reside in Halstead. We have suffered very much indeed from removals, but it is something to know that those who have left us have for the most part been faithful to the principles here taught. During the past year in particular, we as a congregation have suffered from removals; yet our numbers have kept up, and our secretary informs me that there has been an increase of twelve subscribers to the congregational fund within the last few months. It was the general opinion that during the whole of last winter our evening congregations were larger than any former season. The library, too, continues to do its useful work. The eagerness with which the books were read at first has somewhat subsided, there being no longer the same doubts to meet and difficulties to overcome in the minds of those who are regular worshipers in this place; but the books have still a wide circulation, and the reading of them is not confined to Halstead alone. The *Life of Mr. Aspland's father*, for example, has been several long journeys. Out of the fund raised last year, we have added to the library several interesting books; and out of a small balance left, we shall add one or two others as soon as we can get a chance of buying them second-hand. On the whole, the library has been a most useful arm of our society, and its usefulness has certainly been much enhanced by the care and attention bestowed upon it by our worthy librarian, Mr. Cullyer, who not only gives out the books and keeps a record of them, but knows how to recommend them. Our Sunday-school keeps up its numbers, though the regularity in the attendance has been somewhat affected through the illness of our valuable superintendent. Those only who have had practical experience of a Sunday-school can have any idea of the influence of a superintendent in little hints about late comers and inquiries after those who are absent. Mrs. Davison was so



well fitted for the work of a superintendent, that the only wonder is we have not suffered more from her absence than we have done. But much as we regret her loss to the school, we regret far more the cause of it. I know from experience how deeply the whole congregation has sympathized with her in her illness, and rejoiced when reports of her improving health were first heard.

The choir has met pretty regularly throughout the year for practice, and we have had several social meetings of an interesting character. I come now to my greatest difficulty, the want of some place for week-evening classes. This room is taken up every evening during the winter time except Saturday, and there is no other convenient place that one can get for meeting a few young men who are disposed to come out for mutual improvement. I had a class at my own house one night a-week last winter, and I have met there one or two friends who have even come out during the summer; but, over and above the want of accommodation, there are several objections to the place; and I feel sure that, if a convenient room could be had, much good might be done every winter through classes for the study of one subject or another. I hope, through the coming winter, to make this room, on the one night that it is available to us, useful in many ways. I hope, for one thing, to establish a monthly lecture; and have got several promises of help from ministers who live at a distance. I trust also to be able to deliver several courses of Sunday-evening lectures that will prove interesting and instructive, and to make several exchanges with brother ministers that will give a little variety to our services.

There is one other subject to which I should like to allude before I bring these somewhat desultory remarks to an end. During the past year, we have lost by death only one member; but in that one, I am sure, most of us feel that we have lost a friend. I have already spoken of the death of Mr. Arnold, and need not open afresh a recent wound. In a great measure I regard him as the founder of this congregation, and his loss is the severest blow that it has ever received. I have missed him in many ways, for, though not without his failings, he had a clear head and a warm heart, and from his practical knowledge of working men, his advice was often invaluable. Many false reports have been circulated regarding his death, and I fear, in some instances, not without a wicked design, though under the cloak of a religious purpose. To my certain knowledge his religious faith grew firmer and brighter as he drew nearer to the end of his earthly journey; and a few hours before it closed, his interest in this congregation and the cause it represents was as warm and genuine as ever it was. I know that it is hardly necessary to mention all this to you, neither should I, had the subject not come in my way; and in connection with the

death of our friend I have one other suggestion to make, which I know will be warmly received by many amongst us. It is the wish of some of the members of this congregation to erect a simple stone over the grave of our friend, and I have been asked on the present occasion to throw out the suggestion for the consideration of a wider circle of friends. I knew our friend well, and nothing could have been further from his shrinking, retiring nature, than any notice of this kind. But as an expression of our feeling towards the dead, the act has another meaning; and I for one think it would be a graceful and becoming act on our part thus to shew our respect for one who took so large a share in the formation of this congregation, and whose love of truth, integrity of purpose, and earnest aspiration for the freedom and happiness of humanity, were no unapt illustration of the practical value of those great religious principles it is our sincere desire to uphold.

I have only further to say that the older I grow, and the more my experience of life widens, I see more and more the value and the need of religion as a safeguard of life. To the young man or the young woman entering on the manifold duties and responsibilities of life, it imparts high principle and a courage needed to tread down the temptations that so plentifully beset every pathway. There is no good cause which does not become tenfold more strong when the breath of religious inspiration is breathed into it. There is no pure joy of life with which it does not sympathize, and no sorrow that it will not sanctify. It is sometimes said that those of us who worship in this place are enemies to truth and religion. There never was a charge more falsely made. It is our deep love for religion, and our earnest desire to advance the truth, which make us assume our present attitude. Not for outward peace, but to be faithful to the obligation which God had laid upon us, did we step out of the beaten path. Our services at best are not much, but, such as they are, they are freely given in the earnest faith that God will bless them to the promotion of His glory and the furtherance of His kingdom on the earth—the reign of freedom, holiness and peace, among the sons of men.

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#### ON THE DEATH OF A CHILD.

TRANSLATION FROM UHLAND.

WITH lightest tread to come—to go—  
 A fleeting guest of earthly land:  
 Whence? whither? This alone we know  
 From God's own hand to God's own hand.

J. B.

(*Blackwood*, 1863, p. 594.)

## AFGHAN POETRY.\*

It is a happy thing when British officers serving in the East devote the hours of leisure and seclusion which the climate enforces, to the study of the languages and literature of the singular race amongst whom they live. The proportion of those among our countrymen who make such a use of their opportunities is, we fear, small, compared with the officers of other European powers. We find the following significant statements in the "Army and Navy Gazette:—"

"Even before the beginning of the Afghan wars, the Russian Government had appointed a Professor of Pushto (the language of the Afghans) at St. Petersburg. There, at St. Petersburg, young officers and diplomatists had to pass examinations in the dialect of the warlike mountaineers of Roh; while our generals and ambassadors, employed on missions of the highest importance in the very heart of that country, had to depend for information on the honesty of interpreters. Afghan chiefs were able to talk treason in Pushto before the noses of our generals, while assuring them of their fidelity in high-flown strains of Persian eloquence."

Captain Raverty has not only himself studied successfully the language of the Afghans, but has opened a road for all future students of that language. His Dictionary and Grammar of the Pushto tongue, and his Selections from Pushto literature, are books of sterling value. The volume which is now before us is more likely to command general attention than his previous works: it has attractive matter to the theologian as well as to the general reader. It is a remarkable circumstance that the productions of the Afghan poets are now for the first time rescued from oblivion and the other dangers which beset manuscript literature, by being printed in an English translation. Our author must have pursued his object with great ardour to accumulate so many unprinted poems, some of them, he informs us, of extreme rarity. Captain Raverty thus characterizes the works of which he offers a translation:

"It must be remembered, that these poems are the effusions of men who never enjoyed any of what we call the luxuries of life; yet how refined are the generality of their sentiments! Of men who lived in a state such as our own Borderers lived in, five hundred years ago, in violence and in strife, and whose descendants live so still; yet how exquisitely pathetic are many of their poems, and how high-souled and benevolent their sentiments and ideas! Inhabiting a fine country, with grand and lofty mountains, and green and fertile valleys, but with

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\* Selections from the Poetry of the Afghans, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century: literally translated from the Original Pushto; with Notices of the different Authors, and Remarks on the Mystic Doctrine and Poetry of the Sufis. By Captain H. G. Raverty, &c. &c. Crown 8vo. Pp. 348. London—Williams and Norgate. 1862.



nought more than the bare necessities of life attainable, how simple and how perfect are their similes, and how true to nature! What a patriotic ardour, what a true spirit of freedom and a love of country, much of their poetry displays!

"It must also be borne in mind, that the greater number of the writers of the following poems, except Ahmad Shah, and Khushhal Khan, and his sons, were either men who during their life-time had scarcely left the precincts of their native village, or who had devoted their lives to poverty and religious abstraction. Men who never wrote for fame, and who never contemplated that the inmost thoughts which had occupied their hearts would ever meet the eyes of more than a few dear and admiring friends, after they had themselves passed from the scene for ever. Never did they imagine that they would appear before any Public, much less a European one, in the Saxon tongue, and translated by a FARANGI!"  
Pp. v, vi.

The translations are into prose, but the rhyming words are placed as in the original. Some quaintness tinges the translation from a peculiarity in the original, in which two nominatives not unfrequently occur. We wish Captain Raverty had a simpler vocabulary, and had more habitually drawn from the "pure well of English undefiled." The admixture of the philosophical terms of the schoolmen was, we suppose, deemed necessary, but it destroys to an English mind the sense of poetry.

The first poem which we select presents in a very striking way the sublime ideas of God for which the East is so largely indebted to the *false* Prophet of Mecca,—as Christians, in a spirit little resembling that of their Master, are accustomed to call Mohammed.

"IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD!

"Behold! such an Omnipotent Being is my God,  
That He is the possessor of all power, authority, and will.  
Should one enumerate all the most mighty, pure, and eminent,  
My God is mightier, purer, and more eminent than all.  
No want, nor requirement of His, is dependant upon any one;  
Neither is my God under obligation, nor beholden to any.  
Out of nothingness He produced the form of entity;  
In such wise is my God the Creator, and the Nourisher of all.  
He is the artist and the artificer of all and every created thing:  
My God is, likewise, the hearer of every word and accent.  
That which hath neither type nor parallel anywhere,  
Its essence and its nature, its material and its principle, my God is.  
All the structures, whether of this world or of that to come,  
My God is the architect, and the builder of them all.  
He is the decipherer and the construer of the unwritten pages—  
The unfold and the elucidator of all mysteries my God is.  
Apparent or manifest; hidden or obscure; intermediate or intercalary;  
My God is cognizant of, and familiar with, all matters and things.

He hath neither partner nor associate—His dominion is from Himself alone—

A sovereign, without colleague or coadjutor, my God is.

Not that His unity and individuality proceed from impuissance ;  
For, in His one and unique nature, He is infinite, unlimited.

They have neither need nor necessity of the friendship of others,  
Unto whom my God is beneficently and graciously inclined.

Wherefore then the occasion that I should seek Him elsewhere,  
Since, in mine own dwelling, my God is ever at my side?

O RAHMAN ! He is neither liable to change, nor to mutation—

My God is unchangeable and immutable, for ever and ever !"—Pp. 5, 6.

This is a specimen of one of the best known and most popular of the Afghan poets, *Æabd-ur Rahman*. His poems are chiefly on moral and religious subjects, and are characterized by their simplicity and the energy of the style. He belonged to a clan of the Mohmand tribe and dwelt in a village in Peshawar, and lived in the early part of the last century. The particulars given by Captain Raverty respecting him and his works are curiously illustrative of oriental habits.

"He was a man of considerable learning, but lived the life of a Darwesh, absorbed in religious contemplation, and separated from the world, with which, and with its people, he held no greater intercourse than necessity and the means of subsistence demanded. He is said to have been passionately fond of hearing religious songs, accompanied by some musical instrument, which the Chasti sect of Muhammadans appears to have a great partiality for. After a time, when the gift of poesy was bestowed upon him, he became a strict recluse, and was generally found by his friends in tears. Indeed, he is said to have been in the habit of weeping so much, as in course of time to have produced wounds on both his cheeks. His strict retirement, however, gave opportunity to a number of envious Mullas to belie him ; and they began to circulate reports to the effect, that Rahman had turned atheist or heretic, since he never left his dwelling, and had even given up worshipping at the mosque along with the congregation—a matter strictly enjoined on all orthodox Muhammadans. At length, by the advice and assistance of some of the priesthood, more liberal and less bigoted than his enemies, he contrived to escape from their hands, by agreeing, for the future, to attend the place of public worship, and to pray and perform his other religious duties, along with the members of the congregation. He thus, whether agreeable to himself or not, was obliged in some measure to mix with the world ; and this, doubtless, gave rise to the ode at p. 29, to which the reader is referred.

"Rahman appears to have been in the habit of giving the copies of his poems, as he composed them, from time to time, to his particular friends, which they, unknown to each other, took care to collect and preserve, for the express purpose of making a collection of them after the author's death. This they accordingly carried out, and it was not until Rahman's decease that these facts became known. It then appeared also, that some of these pseudo friends had, to increase the bulk of their own collection of the poet's odes, mixed up a quantity of their own

trashy compositions with Rahman's, and had added, or rather forged, his name to them in the last couplets. In this manner two of these collections of odes were made, and were styled Rahman's first and second. Fortunately for his reputation, these forgeries were discovered in time, by some of the dearest of the poet's friends, who recognised or remembered the particular poems of his composition; and they accordingly rejected the chaff, retaining the wheat only, in the shape of his *Diwan*, or alphabetical collection of odes, as it has come down to the present day. Still, considerable differences exist in many copies, some odes having a line more or a line less, whilst some again contain odes that are entirely wanting in others. This caused me considerable trouble when preparing several of them for insertion in my '*Selections in the Afghan Language*;' but it was attended with a proportionate degree of advantage, having altogether compared some sixty different copies of the poet's works, of various dates, some of which were written shortly after Rahman's death, when his friends had succeeded in collecting the poems in a single volume."—Pp. 1—3.

Poets have seldom been burthened with too much wealth. Khushhal Khan, the most varied of the Afghan bards, composed some two centuries ago this consolatory ode on poverty:

"Tho' the miser's house may contain the water of immortality;  
Still, like unto the deadliest poison, is its effect on me.

Moses possessed nothing whatsoever, but one rod alone:  
Karun had boundless wealth, and verily, calamity befell him.

He who hath riches, with it hath vexation and misfortune mixed up;  
Hence the wise so act, that they may not their troubles increase.

The duration of the rose; the world's wealth; the mean man's friendship;

These three or four things are all inconstant and transitory.

He, who may neither possess modesty nor virtue, genius nor understanding,

Regard not his wealth, nor his beauty, nor his ancestral descent.

The wise man is in utter misery, whilst the fool reveleth in pleasure—  
And well, indeed, may the world be amazed at such occurrences as these.

That he should continue happy all his life, and grief never assail him,  
No one, into the world hath brought, a safe-conduct, such as this.

This is the way with fortune—some it maketh happy—some miserable;

And however clear now, the mirror will become clouded hereafter.

Wherefore, then, trouble thyself? Be rejoiced at this, O KHUSHHAL!  
That he, who hath neither riches nor wealth, hath neither pilgrimage to perform, nor taxes to pay."—P. 167.

There is in very many of the poems in this volume an element of religious mysticism, a pietism aspiring after a divine love, and a contempt for the world and its pleasures. This fact leads Captain Raverty to offer some preliminary remarks on the Sufis, the sect to which most of the poets of Afghanistan belong. The



Sufi faith is a combination of Mahomedanism and Hindooism. Many of its ideas and of the usages of the sect resemble those of the Gnostics; others are like certain mysterious doctrines held by Christians; and others seem to have been taken from the Greek philosophy. Plato and Aristotle have helped to corrupt other religions than that of Jesus Christ. The Sufis are the Puritans of the East; their name is taken from an Arabic word expressive of *purity*.

"The Muhammadan writers state, that these enthusiasts are co-existent with their religion; and, probably, their rapturous zeal may have greatly contributed to the first establishment of Islamism; but they have since been considered its greatest enemies, and it is avouched that their doctrines have, for a long time, been even undermining Muhammadanism itself. Hence the most rigorous proceedings have, from time to time, been put in practice to repress their increase, but these, as usual in such cases, have had a contrary effect; and Sufi-ism is said to be still on the increase. There is no doubt, but that the free opinions of the sect on the dogmas of the Muhammadan religion, their contempt for its forms, and their claim to communion with, or rather absorption into the Creator, are all more or less calculated to subvert that faith, of whose outward forms the Sufis profess their veneration."—Pp. ix, x.

In some of their doctrines, the Sufis seem, if the following statement is reliable, to approach to pantheism.

"The Sufis affirm, that their creed is adverse to superstition, scepticism, and error; but 'it exists by the active propagation of all three.' The doctrines of their teachers are given to their disciples in place of the outward forms and observances of the faith they profess. They are invited to embark upon the ocean of doubt, piloted by a sacred teacher, or spiritual guide, whom they must consider superior to all other mortals, and deem worthy of the most pious and spiritual confidence—in fact, of almost adoration itself. They are devoted to the search after TRUTH, and are constantly occupied in adoration of the Deity. He, according to their belief, is diffused throughout all created things; and they consider that the soul of man, and the principle of existence, is *of* God (part of Him) not *from* Him. Hence their doctrine teaches that the soul of man is an exile from its Creator, who is its home and source; that the body is its cage, or prison-house; and the term of life, in this world, is its period of banishment from Him; ere the soul felt it had seen the face of TRUTH, but, in this world, it merely obtains a partial and shadowy glimpse, 'which serves to awaken the slumbering memory of the past, but can only vaguely recall it; and Sufi-ism undertakes, by a long course of education and moral discipline, to lead the soul onward, from stage to stage, until at length it reaches the goal of perfect knowledge, truth and peace.'"—Pp. xi, xii.

There is one peculiarity of this sect which largely influences its poetry. They find it convenient, in certain stages of the religious education of their disciples, to use language as a means of disguising thought. Hence, when they wish to speak of the loftiest aspirations of the soul, they resort to the language of

earthly passion. What to the uninitiated sound like the "sentiments of wild and voluptuous bacchanals," express to the Sufi ear the mystical transports and ecstatic raptures of the highest devotion.

"According to the interpretation given to these mystical poems by the Sufis themselves—for they have even composed a vocabulary of the words used by these mystics—by *wine* is meant devotion, *sleep* is meditation on the Divine perfections, and *perfume* the hope of the Divine favour; the *zephyrs* are outbursts of grace; *kisses* and *embraces*, the transports of devotion and piety; *idolators*, *infidels* and *libertines*, are men of the purest faith, and the *idol they worship* is the Creator himself; the *tavern* is a secluded oratory, where they become intoxicated with the wine of love, and its *keeper* is an enlightened instructor or spiritual guide; *beauty* denotes the perfection of the Deity; *curls* and *tresses* are the infiniteness of His glory; the *lips* are the inscrutable mysteries of His essence; *down* on the cheek, the world of spirits who surround His throne; and the *black mole* upon the cheek of the beloved, the point of indivisible unity; and *wantonness*, *mirth*, and *inebriation*, signify religious enthusiasm, and abstraction from all earthly thoughts and contempt of all worldly affairs."—P. xxi.

To the literal mind of the West and the North the metaphors and symbols of the Sufi poets seem absurd, and to border on gross profanation of sacred things. Yet before we condemn these fervid children of the East, let us not forget that sober divines of our own country, and of the strictest sect of the Puritans, have, in respect at least to one book in the Bible, adopted a very similar system of types, metaphors and symbols. The Song of Solomon, to uninitiated ears, reads like a poem celebrating the earthly loves of a shepherd and shepherdess; and yet orthodox divines, following Origen and other allegorical interpreters, have expounded the shepherd into God or Christ, and the beloved one into the congregation of believers. Surely the Oriental mystic might retort on Christian censurers of Sufi symbolism that their own doctrine is "foolish, lascivious and idolatrous." These were, we believe, the words of Whiston in respect to the allegorical interpretation of the Canticles. There is, as Dr. Noyes has observed, one distinction between the Song of Solomon and the mystical poems of the Sufis, that the latter sometimes contain what the former entirely wants, an avowal of the allegorical character of the poem.

Now and then these Afghan poems breathe a practical morality. Æabd-ul-Hamid, who lived in the early part of the 18th century, and whom the Persians styled "the hair-splitter," though somewhat cynical, has passages which shew skill in heart anatomy. The poet who wrote what follows must have at least read some portions of the Christian's Bible:

"Since thou confessest unto ignorance, it proveth thy sense is good;  
But when thou boastest of thy wisdom, thou art then unwise.

When thy comprehension reacheth not unto thine own faults,  
How then knowest thou aught about the shortcomings of others?

If thou hast preserved thy heart from the deceits of the flesh,  
Then mayest thou say unto it, verily thou art wise!

Seeing that thou hast no conception of religion in thy heart,  
Thou, foolishly, pleasest thyself—thou art but lip-wise.

But wherefore is not the thief of thine own abode seized by thee,  
When thou pointest out others' stolen goods, and knowest the robber too?

First repair thine own ruined and dilapidated affairs,  
If, in truth, thou knowest a plan for restoring them.

Since, O heart-ravisher! all my wishes, thou fulfillest,  
How wonderfully well must thou, the heart of HAMID know!"

In another poem by the same author, we have this testimony to the loveliness of the Messiah's doctrine:

"With eyes that see, and ears that hear, thou shewest thy malice:  
Art thou not unto the breath and footstep of the Messiah blind?"

Whether Hamid when he wrote this recognized or not the Messiah whose words of love were heard 1800 years ago, that Great Teacher would have said to such an one, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven!"

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#### PROGRESS.

WHILE in the wondrous march of mind  
All moves, all brightens, all proceeds,—  
Is immobility confined  
To Christian churches, Christian creeds?  
While man is struggling for the light,  
Shall gospel truth seek gloom and night?

'Tis wilful blindness not to see,  
'Tis stubborn deafness not to hear,  
That men are struggling to be free,  
That mind is busy everywhere:  
The times of ignorance are gone,  
Day's mighty sun is shining on.

It shines with spreading, strengthening power,  
No clouds, no storms, arrest its way—  
Onwards it moves with mightier power,  
From glimmering dawn to glorious day.  
The dawn departs—the day shall be  
Undying as eternity.



## CRITICAL NOTICES.

*Calvin: his Life, his Labours, and his Writings.* Translated from the French of Félix Bungener, Author of "History of the Council of Trent." 8vo. Pp. 349. Edinburgh—T. and T. Clarke.

IN what spirit M. Bungener enters on his work is shewn by his remark, that "it is almost impossible to write about Calvin without appearing to be his advocate." The observation ignores the biographies, essays and reviews, neither few in number nor unimportant in character, which have been written by those who cannot be classed amongst the advocates of Calvin. Strange to say, indeed, M. Bungener, in the very same page, complains of the eagerness which many men shew to abandon and deny the reformer of Geneva. Abandonment and denial are not advocacy.

M. Bungener's work is either hearty panegyric or, where that may not be, an earnest plea for mitigation of censure. It is written with ability and knowledge, and makes two or three important concessions which serve to shew that opinion is making satisfactory progress, and that, spite of the still terrible power of "orthodoxy," Christian morality is beginning to get its own. Our author is quite right in saying that Calvin was a great man and a great servant of God. But he was neither infallible in intellect nor amiable in temper. Not superior to all the errors of his age, where he went wrong his power of intellect and his resoluteness of soul made him very wrong. Sincere and religious, but proud and cruel, he mistook the workings of human passion for zeal for God.

In the matter of Servetus, M. Bungener, though not always consistent, differs from many of the apologists of Calvin. He does not defend the act of Servetus's death. Servetus, he says, was sacrificed to the ideas of the 16th century. Calvin, he pleads, must not be judged by the ideas of the 19th century. This is true. But this plea cannot be used by those who hold up Calvin as before his age, and free from the prejudices of his generation of men. M. Bungener tells us, we may lament that Calvin had an opportunity of committing his fault, and we may blame him for having committed it with the bitter zeal which is always and in all things to be condemned. This, when weighed against such modern apologies of Calvin's share in the death of Servetus as the *British Quarterly* published, is a large concession. But, urged on by the spirit of advocacy which pervades his book, our author presently falls into the wretched fallacy of M. Rilliet de Candolle, that in consequence of the part which the Libertines and other enemies of Calvin took in advocating the cause of Servetus, "the death of Servetus became a political and social as much as a religious necessity." The plea is altogether a bad one. But if it could be maintained, it tells awkwardly against Calvin, for it makes him willing to put an opponent to death, because his own political and social influence in Geneva was in danger, and would have been annihilated by the success of those who favoured Servetus.

M. Bungener of course accepts the evidence of Servetus's pantheism as full proof. He uses it not only for his purpose in 1553, but he gives Calvin credit for a prophet's foresight in relation to this heresy seven years earlier. Our author is compelled to admit the genuineness of the

letter from Calvin to Farel, written in 1546. By a strange blunder he alludes to it as written to Viret. That letter contained this dreadful threat: "Servetus lately wrote to me, and coupled with his letter a long volume of his delirious fancies, with the Thrasonic boast that I should see something astonishing and unheard of. He takes it upon him to come hither, if it be agreeable to me. But I am unwilling to pledge my word for his safety; *for if he shall come, I shall never permit him to depart alive, provided my authority be of any avail.*"

There is another letter of Calvin's, written on the very same day that he penned this terrible and malignant threat, in relation to Servetus. It was addressed to John Frellon, through whom Servetus carried on his correspondence with Calvin. It was through this channel that the latter received extracts from the *Christianismi Restitutio* of Servetus, which his correspondent termed "a long volume of delirious fancies." It is curious as indicating how the passionate pride of Calvin resented the presumption of his correspondent. After expressing to Frellon his despair of benefiting Servetus (whose name, however, he does not specify), on account of the disposition manifested by him, Calvin adds, "Since he has written to me in so proud a spirit, I would fain have beaten down his pride a little, speaking more harshly to him than is my wont, but I could scarcely do otherwise. For I do assure you there is no lesson which is more necessary for him than to learn humility, which must come to him from the spirit of God, not otherwise. . . . If God grants that favour to him and to us, that the present answer turns to his profit, I shall have whereof to rejoice." The writer adds that if Servetus persists in his recent style, he should make conscience of it to give himself no further trouble about him, being assured that the correspondence was a temptation of Satan to withdraw him from better work. What a theology does this letter disclose! God did not breathe into Servetus a spirit of humility. Satan was using Servetus as a decoy to tempt Calvin to leave better things; therefore the heretic was to be left to his errors, and for those errors was, whenever the opportunity should arise, to give the expiation of his life! Could a more painful illustration be found of the bitter influences of a stern theology on a proud temper? We have been led to quote the letter to Frellon, because it overthrows the apology which M. Bungener constructs for that menace in the letter to Farel.

"The historians of the Reformation have sometimes denied the authenticity of this letter, which, in fact, was once doubtful, but is now unquestionable. And why seek to blot out these lines? That Calvin should have spoken beforehand of demanding the death of the heretic, should the opportunity occur, is fundamentally better than if he had acted towards him with more circumspection, and concealed from him what awaited him at Geneva. This letter, moreover, has the advantage of clearly defining how the question stood in Calvin's mind. If, on the one hand, it is painful and grievous to us to see him ready to ask for the death of a man who has entered into familiar correspondence with him, the fact establishes, on the other hand, at least the total absence of all personal animosity. The menace, which was executed in 1553, belongs to a period in which the Spaniard only showed him consideration, almost friendship. Calvin, then, could not hate him personally, and he may therefore have said, with perfect sincerity during the trial, that he had hated, and did hate, the errors,—not the man."—P. 242.

It is important to remember that the two letters were written on the

same day, and that the one was certain to be communicated to Servetus, as the other was to be concealed from him. All that the spiritual culprit, already doomed in the purposes of his correspondent to death, would learn was, that Calvin was offended with his presumptuous style and would waste no more time on him. This helps to explain how it was that Servetus so rashly entered Geneva and became the victim of Calvin.

M. Bungener finds himself inconveniently pressed by the evidence against Calvin of having aided in the attempted condemnation of Servetus by the Inquisition at Vienne. If Calvin furnished the Inquisitors with the proof of Servetus's heresy and his authorship of the *Christianismi Restitutio*, it was such a doing of evil to secure what must have seemed a very doubtful good, as few moral casuists will have the hardihood to defend. The evidence adduced against Servetus at Vienne consisted of his own letters to Calvin. M. Bungener admits that "appearances are against Calvin." All he pleads is, that Calvin denied the fact. Yes, and in his denial he speaks of the charge that he had helped to entrap Servetus on Papal ground as "a frivolous scandal." To modern ideas, "frivolous" is the last epithet to be applied to such a charge. M. Bungener suggests that the sending the letters to Vienne was the work, not of Calvin, but of his secretary, M. de Trye, who is further supposed to have acted without his master's orders. A poor and insufficient defence! No servant of a master like Calvin would have dared to act in such a matter without his consent, still less against his known wishes. M. Bungener admits that for Rome and Geneva to shake hands over the death of Servetus "is odious to us;" but it was then, he thinks, quite "natural;" and even if Calvin had caused Servetus to be condemned at Vienne, "his real fault in this sad business would be in nowise augmented." In all this the historian is lost in the partizan.

In detailing the course of the proceedings at Geneva, M. Bungener candidly admits that some of the things pressed against Servetus were "pitiful cavils, strange from Protestant lips," and does not conceal his admiration of the fidelity and courage of the prisoner. "If, said he, he had not retracted, it was simply because it would have been a lie on his part. If he had not thought fit to keep silence, in spite of the imperial laws which menaced him with death, it was because these laws dated from a period when Christianity was more or less corrupted. Did the church know such legislation in apostolic times?" Our author admits that on these points Servetus only made one mistake—a serious one for himself—they were spoken *nearly three centuries too soon*. Of the sufferings of the prisoner during the judicial proceedings against him, scarcely a faint denial is made.

"To live in a prison in the sixteenth century was horrible; humanity, which was so little careful in the very hospitals, scarcely knew the way to the dwellings of crime, and as to distinguishing one criminal from another, no one dreamed of it. Servetus, treated like a common malefactor, had already, on the 15th of September, addressed to the Council a letter full of the most lamentable details. He recalls their attention to it on the 10th of October, because it has remained unanswered. His clothes are in rags; he is eaten up with filth; and the first cold of autumn is a fresh torment."—P. 252.

In reference to the demand made by Perrin, the advocate of Servetus,



that the whole cause should be referred to the Council of Two Hundred, our author emphatically says, "Would to God that Perrin had succeeded!"

This is our author's narrative of the closing scenes of the dark tragedy of Champel:

"Farel had undertaken to accompany the condemned man. He was with him when, on the morning of the 27th of October, he was informed that that day would be his last. He was left in ignorance of the stake, but the thought of death sufficed to deprive him, at first, of all his strength and courage. Scarcely had he recovered when he began again with Farel the theological discussion he had so often renewed with Calvin. Farel was desirous that Calvin should once more see the condemned; so Calvin came with two counsellors. Servetus was asked by one of the two, what he wished to say to Calvin? he replied that he only wished to entreat his pardon. Then, said Calvin, 'I protest that I have never prosecuted thee because of any private injury.' He said the truth; but this idea has served too often to encourage in their severities those who have borne like witness to themselves. Calvin then began to enumerate all the occasions in which he had shown his good will in endeavouring to bring Servetus back into the right way. This, too, is reasoning in a vicious circle. Might not Servetus have said the same of himself? Had he not also, at Paris, and in his correspondence, and at Geneva, endeavoured to lead Calvin to what he considered to be the truth? It is painful, in the narrative of this last interview, which is related in all its details by Calvin, to see in him, to the last, nothing but the theologian,—reasoning, discussing, and condemning. He does not even seem to suspect, that, in spite of doctrine and through doctrine, it would be possible to say a word of sympathy to the unhappy man who is about to die, and who awaits the tremendous surprise of finding the stake where he had only expected the sword. The remark may have been made, it is true, and not without foundation, that the very excess of this earnest pertinacity is at once its explanation and its excuse;—that Calvin, believing with all his soul in the condemnation of Servetus, could not say to him too much about it;—and that when we see a man on the point of rolling over into an abyss, we think far less of showing him compassion than of alarming him for his safety, and of holding him back, if necessary, by violence. But the comparison is defective in one point. From that abyss which Calvin beheld yawning for Servetus, he might and ought to have attempted to lead him gently away. This was what Calvin did not understand. Such as he showed himself towards Servetus under accusation, such will he show himself towards Servetus under condemnation. Not a word, not a movement tending to soften him by kindness and compassion! Calvin has determined to present to him, to the last, only that idea against which, for twenty years, he has seen him harden himself. And Servetus still hardens himself: so then Calvin obeys, he tells us, the command of St. Paul; he *withdraws himself* from the heretic, and leaves him to Farel.

"Farel had the melancholy honour of showing himself yet more harsh. When Servetus, who had been conducted to the Town Hall, learned there the way in which he was to die, and threw himself horror-struck at the feet of the judges, and besought as a favour that he might be beheaded, and yet, in spite of his horror, refused to save himself by a retraction,—Farel, instead of recognising at least the sincerity which was thus proved by the unhappy man, threatened not to accompany him to the stake if he persisted in calling himself innocent. He held his peace; but no trace of a struggle, nor even of hesitation, appeared in his terror. It evidently did not once enter his mind to save himself by a lie. Farel, from whom we receive these details, could see in all this nothing but obstinacy; and the more the doomed man, in spite of his agony, persisted in not yielding, the more unworthy of all pity did he become in his eyes. At the foot of the stake, as at the Town Hall, and as before in prison, there was not a word of Christian consolation. Once only did Farel

ask him if he would commend himself to the prayers of the spectators. Servetus said 'Yea,' and Farel desired the multitude to pray. But Farel himself prayed not: his sole task was to harass Servetus, in order to extort from him some word which might be considered as a disavowal of his errors. At last, the executioner performed his office; and soon, a few ashes were all that remained of Servetus. Farel, not many days after, will tell all this in a letter, and will exhibit no more emotion over the dead heretic, than he felt on the 27th of October, the day of his execution, when at the side of the heretic while yet alive."—Pp. 256—258.

M. Bungener claims credit for not having softened or veiled any of the atrocities of the story. But, in truth, let it be told how it may, it is the darkest page in the history of the Reformed Church, and is a fatal proof against the faith of which John Calvin was the most skilful exponent that ever lived. With wonderful genius he has thrown a network of logic most closely woven over the human mind; but, startled by the daring crime enacted in 1553 at Geneva, every man that prizes humanity and loves good morals will at any sacrifice break through the toils and escape from a faith of which such are the works.

*Devotional Culture: a Sermon preached at the Rosslyn Hill Chapel, Hampstead, on the 31st of May, 1863, being the First Anniversary of the Opening of the Chapel.* By Thomas Hincks, B.A. Pp. 19. Whitfield.

IN this sermon a great and vital subject is treated powerfully and beautifully. We should like to see these pages, in which Mr. Hincks discourses with true Christian unction on the devotional spirit, in the shape of a cheap popular tract. Nothing could be better calculated to disabuse religious men of every sect and party of any prejudices they may have been led to entertain against Unitarian sentiments. In this catholic spirit does our author refer to the literature of the Christian church:

"How large a place the devotional element occupies! How great the heritage which the richest and devoutest natures have left us in the outpourings of their deepest feeling! How precious the legacy which the Christian past bequeaths to us, in its sacred poetry, in its Litanies, in its prayers, in its confessions, in its meditations, in the record of its interior life! And all this has an influence quite independent of the theological belief with which it is connected. It is the appeal of the heart—the deeper heart—to the deeper heart of humanity! It is written in an universal language. It comes home to all of us. It finds out the richest chords of feeling within us, and wakens them into music. In this department of religious learning, we may find our teachers in every age, and in every Church: and to commune with the devout spirits of the past, and to nourish our piety by dwelling on their experiences, and listening to their sincere confessions, is a needful part of all Christian culture.

"And we have an advantage in this respect which is not enjoyed by many. We are hindered by no narrow sectarian feeling from seeking the nutriment of our religious life in any and every zone. We are not so fenced in by theological barriers that we cannot enjoy the companionship of the saints and confessors of the most opposite faiths. We can refresh our devotion and renew our spiritual life at the fountains which are opened in the pages of the brethren of many creeds, in the prayers and confessions of Augustine and A'Kempis, in the hymns of the *Lyra Germanica*, of Wesley, and Heber, and Keble, no less than in those of our own dear communion. And, believe me, it is well, it is needful, that we should not neglect this holy companionship. It is needful, if our religious life is not to fade and dwindle, that we should have as our



*friends* the devout spirits of the past; that we should often take counsel with them, and revive our own feeble piety by bringing it into contact with theirs." Pp. 10, 11.

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"*The Word.*" *The Introduction to the Gospel of St. John literally translated and scripturally explained.* By a Physician. London—Whitfield; Bristol—Kerslake. 1863.

LITERAL translations are not always true ones. And even our Physician is obliged to insert in *italics* some words not in the original, but needful even for the baldest English translation. He shrinks from saying, "In beginning was the Word;" "A man arose; his name John; this came for a testimony." And surely he is too literal in the other direction in translating, "The life was the light of THE men," and mistaken in insisting that it means, "not of men generally, but of those in whose darkness it shone, and who did not embrace it." If any class of men had already been mentioned, the Greek article might have borne such a construction; but as no class of men has been mentioned, the article is plainly used to generalize, and the natural meaning is, "the light of mankind."

This little tract seeks the meaning of "the Word" in Hebrew thought, without going to Plato, Philo or the Gnostics; and, we think, finds it. But we doubt whether John was so strictly *chronological* in his poem as our Physician would have it. If "the beginning" is the creation of things (which may be doubted on the suggestion of John in the opening of his first Epistle), we cannot think that the light and life spoken of in verse 4 are to be taken as antecedent to the times of John the Baptist, merely because his mission is narrated in the 6th.

But, right or wrong on certain details, the Physician points out plainly enough that "the poem agrees with the Gospel of John in shewing that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." We are glad the days are not quite past when educated laymen are scripture-loving students.

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*Be not Weary in Well-doing: a Discourse.* By Henry W. Crosskey, Minister of the Glasgow Unitarian Church. 8vo. Pp. 16.

THIS address, delivered to his flock previously to their annual meeting, has the one merit of unmistakable earnestness. An earnest pastor generally makes the flock zealous, and the reports of the several congregational organizations appended to the sermon indicate that the Glasgow congregation is doing a truly Christian work. The fine building was burthened by a debt. But the congregation resolved that they would by one hearty and united congregational effort raise before Midsummer the amount necessary to free the congregation from the burthen. And they have carried their zealous purpose into effect.

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## OBITUARY.

DR. D. LLOYD.

With more than ordinary regret we record the death of the Rev. DAVID LLOYD, LL.D., Principal of the Presbyterian College, Carmarthen. His health had been declining during the last year or two, but not in

such a degree as to excite any apprehension of immediate danger. Immediately after the last Midsummer examinations, however, he had an apoplectic seizure, which completely prostrated him for a time. For several weeks his constitution seemed to



have power sufficient to resist the progress of the disease; and he recovered, slowly indeed, but so steadily as to justify the hope that he might again resume his duties in the College. But this hope was doomed to quick disappointment. A few days before his death, a second attack deprived him in a few hours of all power of articulate speech or action, and he gradually sunk into the last sleep.

On the 18th of September he was followed to the grave by a very large number of all classes of his fellow-citizens of all denominations, bearing honourable testimony, in the variety of the churches to which they belonged, to the catholicity of spirit by which he was distinguished in his many works of benevolence. The closed windows along the whole route of the funeral procession, gave strong expression to the general feeling of respect for his memory, and regret for the loss of one of the best and most useful members of the community.

Nor was there wanting ample ground for such regret; for, during the whole of his long residence in Carmarthen, all its public institutions of an educational or charitable character had profited largely from his untiring diligence in their advocacy and management, and his liberal contributions to their funds.

"The religious fidelity and zeal of our departed brother," said the preacher of his funeral sermon, "are testified by the walls within which we meet for worship, and the uninterrupted course of religious services within them since their erection. He was very diligent in the study of the sacred records of Christianity; he did not doubt that God had spoken to men through Jesus Christ; and he rejoiced greatly in the completed purpose of erecting a temple, however unpretending, in which the doctrines of the gospel should be stately set forth and defended, and the spirit and precepts of Jesus so urged upon the attention and impressed on the hearts of men, as to be faithfully represented in the lives of those who call themselves by his name."

In this brief and imperfect retrospective glance at the life which has come to an end in the midst of us, we have an example of high principles of action, and good and generous deeds. Let them receive just and candid recognition, and say to those who have yet to fulfil their part in life's duties and responsibilities, in the words of the Master, "Go and do thou likewise."

At Mount Cleves, Niton, Isle of Wight, WILLIAM MORTIMER, Esq., aged 82. From early youth, and until his power of distinct hearing ceased, he was a constant attendant at the Unitarian chapel, Newport, of which he was the oldest member and senior trustee. Though he had had the advantage of being brought up in, the Rev. Mr. Potticary's school at Newport, yet he may be in a great measure said to have been *self-educated*; and his extensive knowledge in his professions of architect and surveyor (to which he added the business of timber merchant) was the result of his own personal study and successful industry. He was, with the exception of his friend the Rev. J. Fullagar, the last survivor of the founders of the Southern Unitarian Society, instituted in 1801 at Newport, under the ministry of the Rev. R. Aspland; and to this valuable Society and the Southern Unitarian Fund Society he continued through life his assistance and co-operation. When the Newport Unitarian chapel was enlarged in 1825, he was the architect who planned the judicious alterations then effected, and he was ever the zealous supporter of its best interests. A recent proof of his attachment to the chapel, as well as of his regard for civil and religious liberty, was shewn in his presentation to the congregation, in the Bicentenary year, of a handsome silver communion service, on which, by his own desire, was inscribed his admiration of the devoted conduct of the 2000 ejected ministers. He was a man of sterling integrity and honour, and was much esteemed by persons of all denominations in his native town. As years increased, it was delightful to witness the cheerfulness and placidity with which he bore the infirmities of old age; and in the well-grounded hope of immortality he calmly "fell asleep in Jesus," prompting the devout exclamation, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last days be like his." The writer of this brief memoir, after an intimacy, as friend and pastor, of more than forty years,—a friendship which increased in warmth with each revolving year,—feels privileged in offering this last tribute of respect to his revered memory—a memory which will be long tenderly cherished by the members of his attached and sorrowing family. Words of consolation, in reference to his transit to a blissful home, were addressed from the pulpit from 1 Thess. iv. 13, which we are glad to hear are to be committed to the press.

E. KELL.